The Scottish Police and Citizen Engagement (SPACE) Trial: Final Report

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SCOTTISH POLICE AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT PROJECT

THE SCOTTISH POLICE AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT (SPACE) TRIAL: FINAL REPORT

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Executive Summary

The Scottish Police and Citizen Engagement Project (SPACE Project for short) aimed to test the impact of introducing focused procedural-justice training to probationers at the Scottish Police College (SPC). Modelled on the Chicago Quality Interaction Training Programme, the hypothesis underpinning the SPACE Project was that probationers who were exposed to focused procedural justice training as part of their standard police training course would exhibit enhanced awareness of the significance of this framework to policing and consequently place greater value on positive engagement with the public. This would be demonstrated through relevant measurements of probationers' attitudes, perceptions, and behavioural intentions using key procedural justice indicators: 'fairness/neutrality/impartiality', 'respect', 'trust', and 'participation/voice', all of which are closely interlinked with, and dependent on 'communication'.

This report charts the development, implementation and evaluation of the project, with a focus on the results of the training trial aspect of it. Although originally conceived as a randomised control trial, for various reasons this was not feasible and it became a cohort trial. A total of 159 participants were recruited to the trial, 64 to the control group (who did not receive any focused procedural-justice training) and 95 to the intervention group (who did receive additional inputs on the procedural justice approach, and associated concepts and skills). Participants' attitudes, perceptions and behavioural intentions were then assessed (through surveys, observations of role-playing exercises and focus groups) to test for training effects. The impact of the additional training for the intervention group is demonstrable in some areas, whereas for other aspects no differences were evident between the groups. The key findings are summarised here under three main headings: trial results, conclusions, and recommendation for further research in this area.

Trial Results

Two identical surveys were conducted with all those involved in the study – at the beginning and towards the end of the 12-week training period. Statistical analysis of the surveys conducted produced mixed results (see Section 2 for details). Some differences were found between the results for the control and intervention groups, under the key areas of 'communication', 'respect', 'trust', 'impartiality' and 'voice', but most were not statistically-significant.

Statistically-significant differences were found in respect of 'communication' and 'respect' measures:

- Four out of eight communication measures changed in a positive direction over the course of the project, all of which were for the intervention group suggesting the additional training had a positive impact.

- Two out of four 'respect' measures changed over the course of the project, both in a negative direction; one applied to both the control and intervention groups, and the other to the intervention group alone.

Three additional scenario surveys also produced mixed results (see Section 3 for details). Neither group demonstrated an overall greater or lesser awareness of procedural justice issues and their general attitudes, perceptions and behavioural intentions were similar in many respects, although qualitative contributions suggested that the context of encounters appeared significant for some:

- When dealing with an offender (e.g. traffic stop) there was a tendency towards reporting the use of procedures as a means to an end rather than demonstrating procedurally-just approaches.
- When dealing with young people (who may or may not have been behaving badly) greater focus appeared to be placed on communication and dialogue, and positive engagement.
- When dealing with victims of crime there were mixed views about whether it was appropriate to apologise, empathise, or sympathise with victims.

Observations of role-paying exercises (see Section 4 for details) suggested a consistent pattern whereby members of the intervention group were more likely to score 'good' than the control group, who were more likely to score fair/average' across a range of measures (verbal communication, empathy/sympathy; active listening; professional intentions/motives). Although the results suggested the training delivered did improve probationers' performance, none of these results was statistically significant.

Four focus groups explored various issues with probationers (see Section 5 for details) including why they had chosen to join the police and their views on the role of police officers: procedural justice and the challenges of upholding values; and general feedback on police training and key resources. Evidence suggests the probationers valued the practical elements of the training over the classroom based inputs and assessed elements over non-assessed elements (the SPACE elements were non-assessed). Officers demonstrated awareness of the need for positive engagement with members of the public and recognised the importance of drawing on key principles reflected in the procedural justice approach and Police Scotland's guiding values to develop trust and positive relations with communities. However, different motivations were expressed for this, which could be characterised as more pragmatic and extrinsic for the intervention group and more intrinsic for the control group.

An evaluation of the SPACE project (see Section 6 for details) revealed that knowledge of procedural justice in the intervention group increased over the course of the project so that by the end of training 18% of probationers reported their knowledge as high, 68% as medium and 14% as low, compared with 3% reporting their knowledge as high, 25% as medium and 72% as low at the start of the project. This was a positive outcome.

Knowledge and understanding of key skills and approaches related to procedural justice also improved in areas such as:

- The use of empathy in police work (83% reported a better understanding)
- The role of active listening in police work (80% reported a better understanding)
- What police legitimacy is and why it's important (78% reported a better understanding)
- How procedural justice approaches can help develop positive relationships with young people (69% reported a better understanding)
- What procedural justice is and how it applies to general policing (66% reported a better understanding)
- Why the procedural justice approach is for everyone the police may come into contact with (65% reported a better understanding)
- How procedural justice approaches might be particularly pertinent when dealing with victims of sensitive crimes (64% reported a better understanding)

When reporting behavioural intentions related to SPACE training generally:

- 28% reported it was likely or very likely that they would use the knowledge and skills covered in SPACE sessions in their work as a police officer, compared to 39% who said it was unlikely or not very likely.
- 9% reported that they thought SPACE training would make a difference to the way they did their job, compared with 57% who reported it would make little to no difference.
- These are not ideal outcomes, however the main reason given by probationers to explain these responses was that they already knew about the relevant concepts and skills and would have used them anyway.

When reporting specific aspects of SPACE training that would have an impact on how they did their jobs, probationers highlighted issues of: active listening, engaging with young people; effective communication; and empathy.

There was an (unfortunate) tendency by some to dismiss the procedural justice approach as 'common sense', and therefore perceive any specific focus on it as 'not core policing' and even a 'distraction' from 'real' police training. This may indicate that some participants were not open to engagement and therefore unlikely to have their perceptions, beliefs and attitudes challenged.

Conclusions

Generally speaking the general survey results were relatively favourable over a range of measures for both control and intervention groups, which suggests there were no serious underlying attitudinal issues. This also indicates that current recruitment methods are, for the most part, fit for purpose and recruiting individuals into police training who are likely to have a reasonable capacity to enact the principles of procedural justice.

Although many probationers professed to be familiar with the concept of procedural justice and proficient in the associated skills and competencies, this was not always evident from their survey responses, role-play exercises, and contributions to focus groups. This suggests that greater attention needs to be given to this framework – particularly as its concepts are reflected in Police Scotland's core principles.

The results suggest that both the standard training and additional specific training can have an impact on probationers' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes, but not always in a positive way. More research is therefore required to explore why measures of core principles such as respect decreased over the course of training.

There was evidence at times of a more procedure-driven approach at the expense of procedurally-just approaches (in survey responses, observations and focus group contributions), although the two are not mutually exclusive and would ideally be given equal importance.

There was also a sense that showing skills such as empathy could potentially compromise professionalism, which is at best misguided and at worst potentially damaging to victims of crime in particular.

The non-assessed nature of the SPACE inputs seems to have inferred to some probationers that this approach is not important, and not 'real policing'. It would therefore seem appropriate in order to reinforce the procedural justice message that it be given greater priority in how training is assessed, whether by written, verbal or in observation feedback.

Recommendations for Further Research

Given the results presented in the report, recommendations are made to develop academic and practical knowledge on procedurally-just policing and policing training, including for example:

- Research on probationer training that involves larger samples and/or larger numbers of cohorts in environments where training conditions can be held constant in more robust ways.
- Research on incorporating procedural justice principles into different training environments.

- Research on police interaction with different groups, including offenders, victims and in more general encounters with the public, each of which presents different types of challenges.
- Research on different aspects of procedural justice, including the development and maintenance of respect, with a focus on understanding core components and how positive attributes and behaviours might best be developed in officers (both new and serving).
- Research into procedural justice training in an international comparative context, looking at the possible effect of different cultural and jurisdictional environments.

Section 1 - Introduction

1.1 Project Aim

The aim of the Scottish Police and Citizen Engagement Project (SPACE Project) was to test the impact of introducing training that draws on the key principles of procedural justice to probationers at the Scottish Police College (SPC). The SPACE Project was modelled on the Chicago Quality Interaction Training Programme (Chicago QIP), which aimed to improve the quality of interpersonal encounters between officers and members of the public using a procedural justice framework (Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2011; Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013). The SPACE Project sought to adopt a similar theoretical (procedural justice) and methodological (random control trial) framework to the Chicago QIP, whilst allowing for modifications to account for the Scottish policing and police training context. As the project developed, it became necessary to adapt the methodological framework, but every effort was made to maintain the experimental nature of the design. This report charts the development, implementation and evaluation of the project, with a focus on the results of the training trial aspect of it.

1.2 Procedural Justice and Policing: the Evidence Base

There is a growing body of literature from around the world that provides an evidence base for the significance of procedural justice approaches to various aspects of policing, including developing and maintaining police legitimacy; building trust, cooperation and support between the police and the public; responding effectively to victims of crime; engaging positively with young people; and fostering public satisfaction with the police. The evidence includes the pioneering work in the U.S. of Tyler and Sunshine and others (see for example, Tyler, 1990 ; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2004) and of Skogan (2006, 2013); a growing body of Australian studies (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Murphy, 2009; Murphy and Cherney, 2011; Mazerolle, Bennett, Antrobus, and Eggins, 2012 ; Murphy, Mazerolle, Cherney and Bennett, 2012; Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant and Manning, 2013, Murphy, 2013; and Goodman-Delahunty, Verbrugge, Sowemimo-Coker, Kingsford, and Taitz, 2014): as well as British studies (for example, Jackson and Sunshine, 2007; Hough, Bradford, and Myhill, 2010; Hough and Bradford, 2012; Hough, 2013; Bradford 2011 and 2014). A systematic review, conducted by Mazerolle et al. (2013), of both published and unpublished research evidence on the impact of procedural-justice inspired police-led interventions aimed at improving public perceptions of police legitimacy, concluded:

> … our research shows the benefits of police using dialogue that adopts at least one of the principles of procedural justice as a component part of any type of police intervention, whether as part of routine activity or as part of a defined police crime control program. (Mazerolle et al.: 2013: 264).

Mazerolle et al. (2013: 246) define the four essential components of procedural justice as: citizen participation or 'voice'; neutrality (impartiality); respect; and trustworthy motives. Research suggests that these concepts are key to providing a procedurally-just police response/service to the public, and promoting satisfaction with, and confidence in the police, as well as cooperation and compliance on the part of the public. These concepts underpin police legitimacy, and formed the basis for the development of the SPACE Project. It was anticipated that training that focused on the procedural justice approach could have an impact on probationers' perceptions of, and attitudes towards working with the public in order to build trust, cooperation, and compliance.

1.3 Hypothesis

The hypothesis underpinning this research was that police probationers who were exposed to focused procedural justice training would exhibit enhanced awareness of the significance of this framework to policing and consequently place greater value on positive engagement with the public, which would be demonstrated through relevant measurements of probationers' attitudes, perceptions, and behavioural intentions using key procedural justice indicators. This is discussed in more detail in the results section.

1.4 Methodological Issues

Two key methodological issues arose as the project was being planned: the first relating to the design of the study and the second to the comparability of the control and intervention groups

Study Design

The SPACE Project was originally designed to be a randomised control trial, whereby probationers in one cohort (initially estimated to number around 100) would be randomly assigned either to a control or intervention group. However, preliminary discussions with the SPC indicated that this approach was not practicable for various reasons (for example timetabling) and, as it also became clear that overall cohort numbers would be lower than expected, splitting one group into two for the purposes of the trial was deemed not to be feasible.

In order to preserve the methodological integrity of the project it was redesigned as a cohort study, whereby one cohort of probationers was assigned 'control group' status and a completely different cohort (who began training eight weeks after the control group) was designated as the 'intervention group'. This avoided any issues with 'contamination' that may have resulted from dividing one cohort into two units (control and intervention): the risk of inter-group 'contamination' was not an insignificant factor with this project as the 12-week compulsory probationer training course at SPC is residential in nature (Monday-Friday) and although there is no overlap in training cohorts as such, they all live on site, and are housed in the same accommodation blocks, use the same catering facilities, gym, leisure amenities, etc.

Comparability Issues

An unexpected development occurred as the training with the intervention group was about to commence, when the project team were informed that some of the intervention group would be sent out on operational duties over the Christmas and New Year period, following an initial three weeks of training, during which time officer safety training (OST) would be prioritised. These necessitated changes to the training timetable template the project team had been working to, raising some practical issues, but more significantly it raised a methodological issue in relation to the effect this exposure could have on probationers' perceptions and attitudes, as well as their overall comparability with the control group, who were not similarly deployed during their training. As there was nothing that could be done about this, it was decided to continue with the trial. Subsequent statistical tests suggested that this was not a significant factor (see Section 2.5 for details).

1.5 Project Implementation

The project was implemented over the period September 2013 – March 2014 and involved working with three probationer groups (the observation group, the control group and the intervention group), each of which was undergoing the SPC 12-week initial probationer training programme. The Control Group initially comprised 65 probationers, but one dropped out before the end of the training period. The Intervention Group turned out to be larger than anticipated (n=95), and one member also dropped out of this group before the end of the training period. Not all group members subsequently completed all forms of evaluation, so only valid results have been included in the analysis that follows.

The project was implemented using an adapted ADDIE (Analysis, Design, Development, Implementation, and Evaluation) Model, emulating the approach used by Rosenbaum and Lawrence (2013) in the Chicago QIP. Each of these aspects of the ADDIE framework is elaborated on, in turn, below.

Analysis Phase

The analysis stage involved an in-depth study of various factors, including:

- The content of existing SPC training manuals
- The method of delivery of training at the SPC
- The characteristics of the learners involved
- The culture of the learning environment
- The desired attitudinal and behavioural outcomes.

This stage involved observing both relevant training sessions and practical sessions where probationers role-play different policing scenarios and are evaluated using various measures to establish procedural 'competence'.

The Project Team also had access to the Chicago QIP Training Manual, and project publications, which were an invaluable source of reference to draw upon.

On this basis of preliminary analyses, we were keen to develop an approach that drew on the best practice already being used in probationer training at SPC; adopt a similar model for SPACE inputs; and build SPACE inputs into the existing programme, where possible by, for example, adapting existing training procedures (the practical sessions) for evaluation purposes.

In designing SPACE inputs it was deemed important that the additional procedural justice training, although ultimately a 'bolt-on', should not just complement existing training at the college, but also build on this by drawing together and/or clearly signposting the overlap between key procedural justice concepts and relevant key principles already espoused by Police Scotland (e.g. fairness, integrity, respect, and more generally ethics and professional standards) in its training programmes, policies, and procedures.

Design Phase

The analysis and observations outlined above suggested that from a procedural justice perspective, attention was best directed towards those areas of police work where contact with the public – whether as victims, complainants, suspects, offenders, or even more routine encounters – was most likely. Consequently, it was decided to focus training on inputs that covered 4 overlapping areas:

1. The key principles of procedural justice and their relevance to policing (concepts, strengths, weaknesses, challenges)
2. The key skills involved in delivering procedurally-just policing (communication skills; empathy and understanding; active listening)
3. Key issues (ethnic and cultural diversity; sexual crime; domestic violence; roads policing)
4. Key groups (young people; victims of crime; more deprived communities).

On this basis the project's learning outcomes, pedagogic approach, and specific content/subject matter of inputs were developed, which drew on the relevant experience and expertise of the project team and sought to demonstrate the value of research evidence and its use in establishing best practice and providing practical advice, approaches, tools and skills for adopting and implementing a procedurally-just approach in policing.

Learning Outcomes

- To introduce and assess the procedural justice framework and its key components
- To relate procedural justice and its key principles to police work
- To apply the key principles of procedural justice to a range of key issues in policing (ethnic and cultural diversity; sexual crime; domestic violence; roads policing)

- To consider the relevance of procedural justice in relation to key groups (victims of different types of crime; young people; deprived communities).
- To identify and demonstrate how to operationalise key skills that facilitate the application of this approach in police work (good communication, active listening, and empathy)
- To demonstrate the benefits of using a procedural justice approach in day-to-day police work.

Pedagogic Approach

Our preliminary analysis informed the development and delivery of the training inputs, for example:

- The culture and organisation of the learning environment - residential, intensive and broad in scope to cover the necessary legal, procedural and social aspects of policing
- The characteristics of the learners involved - from a broad spectrum of ages as well as educational levels and employment backgrounds
- The desired attitudinal and behavioural outcomes - recognition of procedural justice, its place in policing, and a concomitant awareness and appreciation of its benefits, resulting in intention to use.

Given these parameters, much thought was given to how best to deliver the inputs, but as a result of timetabling constraints and the need to ensure consistency of delivery for all probationers in the intervention group, sessions had to include the whole cohort (n=95) together, which dictated, to some extent, the teaching methods used. For example, there was no scope for small group training, but this was addressed by providing exercises that individuals could use outside the training sessions and, indeed, return to in future. All inputs were delivered by members of the project team, drawing on their particular areas of research expertise and experience.

Development Phase

A key component of the project was the design of a model that encompassed some of the key principles of procedural justice that we wanted the project to highlight: our 'F.I.R.S.T. PRINCIPLES' (**F**airness, **I**mpartiality and **R**espect builds **S**upport and **T**rust, all of which underlie police legitimacy). This design feature became the project logo, a teaching tool and aide-memoire, used to highlight key procedural justice concepts to probationers. The logo was used on all project and training materials and the model introduced during the first input with probationers in the intervention group, as described below.

Figure 1: Visual Model and Teaching Tool for Procedural Justice F.I.R.S.T Principles©

Implementation Phase

A key benefit of using separate cohorts for the study was that SPACE training could be built into the SPS timetable for the intervention group. Face-to-face training took place in nine sessions over the 12-week training period as detailed below in Table 1.

Table 1: Outline of SPACE Inputs

Session	Topic
1	Principles of procedural justice & application to policing
2	Public perceptions of police conduct: young people; victims of crime
3	The role of empathy in police-citizen encounters
4	The challenges of delivering procedural justice in policing: understanding the impact of diversity
5	Procedural justice and sexual offences/crime
6	Engaging with young people in the community
7	Road policing and procedural justice
8	Active listening
9	Review session

For each session/input a set of notes was developed, with additional materials, references and follow-up scenarios or exercises provided to allow probationers to build an ongoing learning resource they could access in their own time and return to in the future, alongside their comprehensive SPC manuals. For consistency the additional materials produced for SPACE inputs were developed using a similar format to the SPC manuals, and, where

appropriate, included references and links to SPC training and other Police Scotland information.

To illustrate these design principles, the session aim and learning outcomes for the first input are provided below:

Session 1 Aim:
To introduce the SPACE Project and the concept of 'procedural justice'

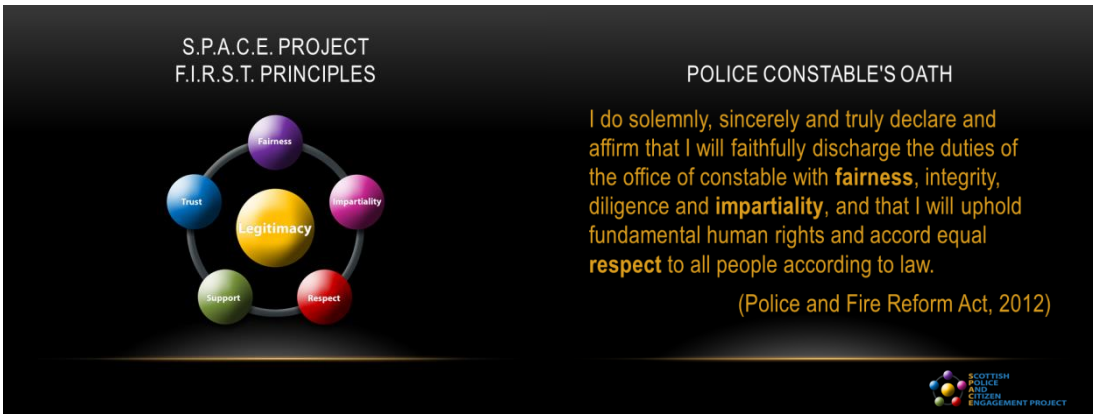
Learning Outcomes

After this session you will be able to:

A. Describe the SPACE Project
B. Explain what is meant by 'procedural justice'
C. Recognise its significance to policing and the police
D. Reflect on how procedural justice concepts map onto Police Scotland's values
E. Identify the key concepts from the accompanying aide-memoire

To accompany the first session, an aide-memoire was designed and provided in post-card form (see Figure 2) to emphasise the overlap between procedural justice principles and the Police Constable's Oath, which all probationers take during the first week of police training.

Figure 2: SPACE Aide- Memoire Postcard (front and back)



Each input followed a similar pattern. There was no formal assessment of the inputs in terms of measuring probationers' knowledge and understanding, but their behavioural intentions were measured using the survey instruments, observations and focus groups. Although it was emphasised that, in a sense, all police officers are continually tested on this approach throughout their police service, with hindsight a more formal assessment of probationers' knowledge may have been useful for several reasons. This is discussed further in Section 7.

Evaluation Phase

The evaluation of the trial involved testing for any effects the additional exposure to procedural justice concepts, relevant research findings, and their practical application to policing may have had on the intervention group. To this end several data collection tools were developed, some of which drew upon examples from previous studies that have proved to provide robust measures (e.g. Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2011; Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013; Skogan, 2013). All tools were used with both control and intervention groups, with the exception of the training evaluation, as summarised below in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of Data Collection Tools Used

Data Collection Tool
1. Preliminary survey (adapted from Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013 and Skogan, 2013)
2. Follow-up survey (adapted from Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013 and Skogan, 2013)
3. Additional surveys (adapted from Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013)
4. Observations of practical exercises (adapted from QIP practice notes)
5. Focus groups
6. Training evaluation (intervention group only)

As mentioned in the introduction, we hypothesised at the start of the project that probationers exposed to SPACE training would exhibit enhanced awareness of the significance of this framework in police interaction with the public, especially in relation to their perceptions of, and attitudes towards such procedurally-just key issues as demonstrating fairness, impartiality, respect and trust which would be reflected in the positive use of communication skills and effective decision-making and problem-solving skills. As such, these were the areas that the evaluation phase of the trial sought to measure.

- The main preliminary and follow up surveys for both intervention and control groups were used to test for SPC training effect (control group) and SPACE training effect (intervention group) on perceptions of, and attitudes towards relevant key issues in delivering procedurally-just policing, including communication skills, fairness, impartiality, respect and trust. Statistical analysis involved comparisons being made to test for possible intervention effects, that is differences between the control and intervention groups that may be attributable to SPACE training.
- The additional surveys, which comprised three short scenarios on ‘traffic policing’, ‘policing young people’ and ‘encounters with the general public’, and encouraged probationers to add qualitative comments, allowed for a more detailed investigation of attitudes, perceptions and indicative behaviour.
- Observational data were collected from role playing exercises for both control and intervention groups, which were scored on a range of indicators of ‘procedurally-just’ behaviours, including, for example, verbal communication, active listening,

demonstrating professional intentions/motives, demonstrating empathy/sympathy; and cultural awareness.
- Focus groups conducted with both the control and intervention groups included questions on: the role of the police; procedural justice principles; Police Scotland's values; engaging with the public; and implementing skills and knowledge outside the SPC.

In addition to the main statistical analysis, an evaluation of the training was conducted amongst the intervention group using a short questionnaire. The relevant findings have been integrated into the results sections below.

The sections that follow are arranged to provide an overview of the data collated from surveys, observations and focus groups during the course of the project, each of which is analysed individually, before being discussed together in the final section. They cover the following aspects of the study:

- Section 2 presents an analysis of baseline (start of training) attitudes, perceptions and beliefs; an analysis of the follow-up survey conducted towards the end of the training period and a comparative analysis of the relative differences in the results obtained for both control and intervention groups.
- Section 3 provides an analysis of the results of the additional short surveys conducted on routine policing scenarios with both control and intervention groups.
- Section 4 reviews the observation data collected during practical (role play) sessions for intervention and control groups.
- Section 5 analyses the focus group data collected with both intervention and control groups.
- Section 6 covers the evaluation data collected during the last week of training with the intervention group only.
- Section 7 summarises and discusses the key overall findings and offers some recommendations for further research in the area of procedural justice and police training.

Section 2: Main Survey Results

This section presents an overview of the statistical analysis conducted on the main survey data collected during the training trial. It includes the following:

1. An analysis of baseline (start of training) attitudes, perceptions and beliefs, as captured by a survey comprising 24 statements, which probationers were asked to indicate the extent they agreed, with four possible response: 'agree strongly', 'agree', 'disagree' and 'disagree strongly'. This survey was conducted on the morning of the first day of probationer training for both control and intervention groups.
2. An analysis of the follow-up survey conducted towards the end of the 12-week probationer training period, using the same 24 statements and responses. This survey was conducted on the penultimate day of the probationer training programme.
3. A comparative analysis of the relative differences between the two groups.

Methodological Note

As most of the scores are strongly non-normal, nonparametric statistics have been used throughout (chi-square, Fisher's, Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon signed-rank). Fisher's exact test is used in preference to chi-square for 2 x 2 tables.

Use of 'Bonferroni correction': when interpreting 'p values' there is an increased chance of false positives cropping up, for example with 20 p values, even random noise is likely to throw up 1/20, i.e. one at p = 0.05. Accordingly, the 'Bonferroni correction' is used throughout, whereby the 'rule of thumb' for 'significance' amongst N tests is adjusted from p = 0·05 to p = 0·05/N, e.g. p = 0·01 for 5 tests.

2.1 Demographics

A total of 159 participants were recruited to the trial at the outset: 64 in the control group and 95 in the intervention group. Two individuals withdrew from the Probationer Training Programme during the lifetime of the trial project: one from the control group, and one from the intervention group. As not all participants subsequently completed every survey, only valid results are included in the statistical analysis (hence the numbers in the table below do not always add up to 64 and 95). The majority of probationers were male (69.8%, n=111) and the mean age of the probationers was 26.42 years. The vast majority were white British (96.8%, n=151) with the remainder identifying as 'White Other' (3) and Asian or British Asian (2). Most probationers were single (62.2%, n=97), a further 19.9% (31) were in a relationship or cohabiting, and the remainder were married or in a civil partnership (17.9%, n=28). Only 16% (n=25) of the probationers had dependent children. An honours degree was the most frequently reported level of education (36.5%, n=57), followed by high school level (24.4%, n=38) and 'Further Education' level (HNC or HND) (15.4%, n=24). Twenty-four (15.5%) probationers had previously been Special Constables, and a further 11 (7.2%) had formerly served in the armed forces.

Four nonparametric tests were applied, depending on the nature of the variables: Mann-Whitney U for age, Fisher's exact test for 2 × 2 tables, chi-square for heterogeneity for larger nominal tables and chi-square for trend for ordinal tables. The 'Bonferroni criterion' for significance, applying the Bonferroni correction to the usual 'rule of thumb' $2p < 0{\cdot}05$, was $2p < 0{\cdot}006$. Here and throughout, "2p" denotes a two-tailed result. No value lying below $2p = 0{\cdot}1$, it can be said there was no evidence for imbalance and the two groups are well matched. There were no statistically significant differences between the control group and the intervention group in terms of age, sex, ethnicity, education level, marital status, children, Special Constable experience, or armed forces experience (see Table 3).

Table 3: Demographics for Control and Intervention Groups

VARIABLE	Control Group (n=64)	Intervention Group (n=95)	Test	2p
AGE	M= 27.4 SD 5.2	M = 25.8 SD 4.6	U = 2574.0	0.1
GENDER			Fisher's	0.7
Male	71.9% (46)	68.4% (65)		
Female	28.1% (18)	31.6% (30)		
ETHNICITY			N/A	
White British	98.4% (60)	95.8% (91)		
White Other	0.00% (0)	3.2% (3)		
Asian or Asian British	1.6% (1)	1.1% (1)		
EDUCATION			$X^2(1) = 0.1$ for trend	0.7
No Formal Qualifications	1.6% (1)	0% (0)		
Standard Grade/Equivalent	6.6% (4)	11.6% (11)		
Higher/Advanced Equivalent	27.9% (17)	22.1% (21)		
HNC/Equivalent	6.6% (4)	11.6% (11)		
HND/Equivalent	6.6% (4)	5.3% (5)		
Ordinary Degree	11.5% (7)	8.4% (8)		
Honours Degree	32.8% (20)	38.9% (37)		
Masters Degree	3.3% (2)	2.1% (2)		
Other	3.3% (2)	0% (0)		
MARITAL STATUS			$X^2(2) = 4.0$	0.1
Single	55.7% (34)	66.3% (63)		
Relationship/Cohabiting	27.9% (17)	14.7% (14)		
Married/Civil Partnership	16.4% (10)	18.9% (18)		
CHILDREN			Fisher's	1.0
Yes	16.4% (10)	15.8% (15)		
No	83.6% (51)	84.2% (80)		
FORMER SPECIAL CONSTABLE			Fisher's	0.7
Yes	13.3% (8)	16.8% (16)		
No	86.7% (52)	83.2% (79)		
FORMER ARMED FORCES			Fisher's	0.8
Yes	8.2% (5)	6.5% (6)		
No	91.8% (56)	93.5% (86)		

2.2 Baseline Survey Responses

The baseline (start of training) responses for both the control and the intervention groups to the 24 statements used in the survey (listed in Appendix A, and adapted from Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013 and Skogan, 2013), are summarised in Table 4 below.

The scores were coded from 1 ('disagree strongly') to 4 ('agree strongly') and it should be noted that although most statements are worded such that an agreement signifies what might be regarded as a 'good' outcome in procedural justice terms (e.g. Q1, 'I know how to talk with people') and therefore the higher the mean score, the better, for five statements (e.g. Q8, 'Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively') the wording is such that the lower the mean score, the better this indicates what might be considered a 'procedurally-just' response. This applies to questions 8, 9, 11, 17 and 18, and these have an (R) symbol after the statement number for clarity.

Although means, standard deviations and ranges are shown, these are indicative only, and 2p values for Mann-Whitney U tests for differences between the groups are shown.

The Bonferroni criterion for significance is $2p < 0{\cdot}002$ and it can again be seen that there is no real evidence for an imbalance between the groups, the lowest value $2p = 0{\cdot}004$ for Q2 ('Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations') not reaching a formal level for being 'favourable' at baseline. This analysis offers further reassurance that there were no significant differences between the control and intervention groups in the attitudes, perceptions and beliefs as measured by the survey at the start of their training, so the two sets of results can be usefully compared.

Table 4: Baseline Responses to Survey Grouped by Procedural Justice Category

QU. NO.	Statement	Control (mean score, range 1 – 4)	Intervention (mean score, range 1 – 4)	Mann-Whitney U	2p
COMMUNICATION					
1	I know how to talk with people	3·5 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2431·5	0·01
4	I know how to resolve conflict between people	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2836·0	0·3
7	I have good communication skills	3·3 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2431·0	0·01
10	I know how to make someone comfortable	3·1 SD 0·4 (2 – 4)	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2823·0	0·3
13	I feel confident when using my communication skills	3·3 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2876·5	0·6
16	I am good at reading other people's emotions	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3030·0	1·0
19	I know how to show empathy or compassion	3·4 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2698·5	0·2

22	I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2863·0	0·4
PARTICIPATION/VOICE					
2	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·9 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	2443·0	0·004
9(R)	Police officers shouldn't take time to listen to members of the public complain about their problems	1·3 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	1·4 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2744·5	0·2
17(R)	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier	2·1 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2·0 SD 0·6 (1 – 3)	2816·0	0·6
23	Police officers need to show a genuine interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything	3·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2635·0	0·1
IMPARTIALITY/NEUTRALITY					
3	It's important to give everyone a good reason why we're stopping them, even if there is no need	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	2695·0	0·2
12	If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain	3·3 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2500·0	0·03
14	When dealing with a member of the public's concerns, police officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are finished at the scene	3·6 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	2770·5	0·3
21	It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules	3·5 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2693·0	0·3
RESPECT					
5	People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude	3·7 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·8 SD 0·4 (2 – 4)	2733·5	0·2
11(R)	In certain areas of towns/cities, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous	1·9 SD 0·6 (1 – 3)	1·8 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2724·0	0·2
15	It's important that we remind people that they have rights and that we appear to follow them	3·6 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2594·5	0·08
20	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·9 SD 0·3 (3 – 4)	2869·5	0·3
TRUST					
6	Police officers have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively	3·0 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·0 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2872·0	0·6
8(R)	Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively	1·9 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	1·9 SD 0·5 (1 – 4)	2896·0	0·5

18(R)	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many members of the public	2·5 SD 0·8 (1 – 4)	2·2 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2322·5	0·01
24	Officers should treat the public as if they can be trusted to do the right thing	3·1 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	3·3 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2671·5	0·1

Bonferroni criterion: 2p < 0·002.

Although not statistically significant it is worth noting that the mean scores for the intervention group were, on the whole, more favourable than for the control group in:

- Six of the eight 'Communication' statements (the other two were exactly the same)
- All four of the 'Voice' statements
- Three of the four 'Impartiality' statements
- All of the 'Respect' statements; and
- Two of the 'Trust' statements (the other two were exactly the same).

In other words the intervention group appeared to start from a more favourable position than the control group in terms of their attitudinal responses.

2.3 Follow-Up (End of Training) Survey Responses

At the end of their 12-week training period probationers were asked to complete the survey again, with the same four responses. The same coding scheme was used and the same qualification to certain questions (8, 9, 11, 1 and 18) outlined above apply. The results are summarised in Table 5 below.

As before the Bonferroni criterion is 2p < 0·002, and in comparison to the baseline data, statistically significant differences between the groups were found for three statements:

- Q10 ('I know how to make someone comfortable'), 2p < 0·001,
- Q19 ('I know how to show empathy or compassion'), 2p = 0·002
- Q21 ('It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules'), 2p = 0·001

There are also 'suggestive' differences for two questions, both 2p = 0·003:

- Q4 ('I know how to resolve conflict between people')
- Q13 ('I feel confident when using my communication skills'), both.

Looking more closely at these statements it is clear that four of them fall under the 'Communication' rubric (4, 10, 13 and 19), while the fifth (Q21) falls under the 'Impartiality/Neutrality' category. In all of these cases the score is higher for the intervention group than for the control group, which could be considered a 'good' outcome for the intervention. However, this does not take into account the relative differences between pre- and post-training survey results, which will be analysed in Section 2.4 below.

Table 5: Follow-up Survey Responses Grouped by Procedural Justice Category

QU. NO.	Statement	Control (mean score, range 1 – 4)	Intervention (mean score, range 1 – 4)	Mann-Whitney U	2p
COMMUNICATION					
1	I know how to talk with people	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	2270·5	0·03
4	I know how to resolve conflict between people	3·2 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2064·5	0·003
7	I have good communication skills	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2190·5	0·02
10	I know how to make someone comfortable	3·1 SD 0·3 (3 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	1948·0	< 0·001
13	I feel confident when using my communication skills	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2014·0	0·003
16	I am good at reading other people's emotions	3·3 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2368·0	0·1
19	I know how to show empathy or compassion	3·3 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	1936·5	0·002
22	I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others	3·3 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2182·0	0·02
PARTICIPATION/VOICE					
2	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	2474·0	0·2
9(R)	Police officers shouldn't take time to listen to members of the public complain about their problems	1·4 SD 0·7 (1 – 3)	1·5 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2622·5	0·7
17(R)	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier	2·0 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	1·9 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2597·0	0·8
23	Police officers need to show a genuine interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2406·5	0·2
IMPARTIALITY/NEUTRALITY					
3	It's important to give everyone a good reason why we're stopping them, even if there is no need	3·7 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2465·0	0·3
12	If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·3 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	2656·0	0·9
14	When dealing with a member of the public's concerns, police officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are finished at the scene	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	2533·5	0·4
21	It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	1954·5	0·001
RESPECT					
5	People should be treated with respect,	3·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2531·5	0·8

	regardless of their attitude				
11(R)	In certain areas of towns/cities, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous	1·9 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2·0 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2542·5	0·5
15	It's important that we remind people that they have rights and that we appear to follow them	3·6 SD 0·7 (2 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2620·0	0·7
20	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect	3·7 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	2682·0	1·0
TRUST					
6	Police officers have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively	3·0 SD 0·4 (1 – 4)	3·0 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	2491·0	0·2
8(R)	Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively	1·9 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	2·0 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2565·5	0·5
18(R)	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many members of the public	2·3 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2·3 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2633·0	0·7
24	Officers should treat the public as if they can be trusted to do the right thing	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·1 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2535·0	0·4

Bonferroni criterion: $2p < 0{\cdot}002$.

Again some differences are perhaps worth highlighting, bearing in mind that only those mentioned above are statistically significant. The mean scores for the intervention group were more favourable than the control group in:

- All eight of the 'Communication' statements
- Two of the four 'Voice' statements (one was the same and the other less favourable)
- One of the 'Impartiality' statements, which, crucially, was statistically significant (one was the same for both groups and two less favourable for the intervention group);
- None of the 'Respect' statements (three statements received the same mean score across control and intervention groups and one - Q11 - was less favourable for the intervention group); and
- None of the 'Trust' statements (three received the same scores across both groups and one - Q8 - was more favourable for the control group).

This suggests a levelling out of some attitudinal responses between control and intervention groups over the 12-week training period, which will be explored further in the discussion section.

2.4 Analysis of the Relative Differences between Pre and Post Training Surveys for Control and Intervention Groups

Having established baseline and follow-up scores the overall results of the trial were calculated by testing for the significance of the changes between baseline and follow-up for

the control and intervention groups. These results are summarised in Table 6, based on the Wilcoxon signed-rank method.

The Bonferroni criterion for significance is $2p < 0{\cdot}001$ and it can be seen that there is no significant change in the control group except for Q20 ('Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect'), $2p < 0{\cdot}001$, indicating an adverse effect, which is also evident in the intervention group ($2p < 0{\cdot}001$).

Overall the intervention group showed six statistically significant changes between baseline and follow-up surveys, four of which were in a 'positive' direction, i.e. an increased score, which demonstrates a good outcome:

- Q4 ('I know how to resolve conflict between people'), $2p = 0{\cdot}001$,
- Q13 ('I feel confident when using my communication skills'), $2p < 0{\cdot}001$,
- Q16 ('I am good at reading other people's emotions'), $2p = 0{\cdot}001$
- Q22 ('I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others'), $2p < 0{\cdot}001$

Although Q5 ('People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude'), $2p < 0{\cdot}001$, is also statistically significant, in contrast to the four statements above, this was in a negative direction, i.e. a decreased score, which indicates an adverse outcome.

Table 6: Changes in Survey Responses for Control and Intervention Groups

QU. NO	Statement	Control (Wilcoxon Z & 2p, post *vs.* pre)		Intervention (Wilcoxon Z & 2p, post *vs.* pre)	
COMMUNICATION					
1	I know how to talk with people	-1·342	0·2	-1·606	0·1
4	I know how to resolve conflict between people	-1·500	0·1	-3·395	0·001
7	I have good communication skills	-1·633	0·1	-2·117	0·03
10	I know how to make someone comfortable	0·000	1·0	-2·694	0·007
13	I feel confident when using my communication skills	-0·943	0·3	-3·772	< 0·001
16	I am good at reading other people's emotions	-1·387	0·2	-3·272	0·001
19	I know how to show empathy or compassion	-1·500	0·1	-0·928	0·4
22	I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others	-1·410	0·2	-4·927	< 0·001
PARTICIPATION/VOICE					
2	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations	-1·225	0·2	-0·229	0·8
9(R)	Police officers shouldn't take time to listen to members of the public complain about their problems	-2·236	0·03	-1·088	0·3

17(R)	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier	-1·147	0·3	-1·366	0·2
23	Police officers need to show a genuine interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything	-1·043	0·3	-1·616	0·1
IMPARTIALITY/NEUTRALITY					
3	It's important to give everyone a good reason why we're stopping them, even if there is no need	-1·500	0·1	-1·414	0·2
12	If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain	-0·600	0·5	-2·214	0·03
14	When dealing with a member of the public's concerns, police officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are finished at the scene	0·000	1·0	-0·788	0·4
21	It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules	-0·845	0·4	-1·189	0·2
RESPECT					
5	People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude	-1·759	0·08	-4·115	< 0·001
11(R)	In certain areas of towns/cities, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous	-0·577	0·6	-2·100	0·04
15	It's important that we remind people that they have rights and that we appear to follow them	-0·218	0·8	-1·095	0·3
20	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect	-4·511	< 0·001	-4·447	< 0·001
TRUST					
6	Police officers have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively	-0·799	0·4	-0·971	0·3
8(R)	Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively	-0·688	0·5	-1·293	0·2
18(R)	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many members of the public	-1·208	0·2	-0·933	0·4
24	Officers should treat the public as if they can be trusted to do the right thing	-1·275	0·2	-1·964	0·05

Bonferroni criterion: $2p < 0{\cdot}001$.

The changes summarised above for both control and intervention groups are further detailed in the following two tables, which include both pre- and post-training data for the control group (Table 7) and the intervention group (Table 8).

Table 7: Changes in Survey Responses for Control Group

QU. NO	Statement	PRE	POST	Control (Wilcoxon Z & 2p, post *vs.* pre)	
COMMUNICATION					
1	I know how to talk with people	3·5 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-1·342	0·2
4	I know how to resolve conflict between people	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·2 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	-1·500	0·1
7	I have good communication skills	3·3 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·633	0·1
10	I know how to make someone comfortable	3·1 SD 0·4 (2 – 4)	3·1 SD 0·3 (3 – 4)	0·000	1·0
13	I feel confident when using my communication skills	3·3 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-0·943	0·3
16	I am good at reading other people's emotions	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·3 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	-1·387	0·2
19	I know how to show empathy or compassion	3·4 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·3 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-1·500	0·1
22	I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·3 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·410	0·2
PARTICIPATION/VOICE					
2	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	-1·225	0·2
9(R)	Police officers shouldn't take time to listen to members of the public complain about their problems	1·3 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	1·4 SD 0·7 (1 – 3)	-2·236	0·03
17(R)	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier	2·1 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2·0 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	-1·147	0·3
23	Police officers need to show a genuine interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything	3·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·043	0·3
IMPARTIALITY/NEUTRALITY					
3	It's important to give everyone a good reason why we're stopping them, even if there is no need	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	-1·500	0·1
12	If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain	3·3 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-0·600	0·5
14	When dealing with a member of the public's concerns, police officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are finished at the scene	3·6 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	0·000	1·0
21	It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules	3·5 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-0·845	0·4
RESPECT					
5	People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude	3·7 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	-1·759	0·08
11(R)	In certain areas of towns/cities, it is more useful for	1·9 SD 0·6 (1 – 3)	1·9 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-0·577	0·6

	an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous				
15	It's important that we remind people that they have rights and that we appear to follow them	3·6 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·7 (2 – 4)	-0·218	0·8
20	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-4·511	< 0·001
TRUST					
6	Police officers have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively	3·0 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·0 SD 0·4 (1 – 4)	-0·799	0·4
8(R)	Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively	1·9 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	1·9 SD 0·5 (1 – 3)	-0·688	0·5
18(R)	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many members of the public	2·5 SD 0·8 (1 – 4)	2·3 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-1·208	0·2
24	Officers should treat the public as if they can be trusted to do the right thing	3·1 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·275	0·2

Bonferroni criterion: 2p < 0·001.

Although not all statistically significant (see Table 7 above for details) the control group results show that:

- In terms of 'Communication' there was a favourable increase in seven of the eight measures, with the 8th (Q10) unchanged between start and end of training.
- In terms of 'Voice' there were two favourable increases (Q1 and 2) and 2 decreases (9 and 23).
- In terms of 'Impartiality/Neutrality' there were two favourable increases, one measure unchanged and one adverse change (Q21).
- In terms of 'Respect': attitudes changed in a negative direction for two statements and remained unchanged for two.
- In terms of 'Trust: attitudes remained constant over three statements, while the 4th (Q18) decreased (which in this case is a favourable outcome owing to the wording of the statement).

Table 8: Changes in Survey Responses for Intervention Group

QU. NO	Statement	PRE	POST	Intervention (Wilcoxon Z & 2p, post vs. pre)	
COMMUNICATION					
1	I know how to talk with people	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	-1·606	0·1
4	I know how to resolve conflict between people	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-3·395	0·001
7	I have good communication skills	3·5 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-2·117	0·03

10	I know how to make someone comfortable	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-2·694	0·007
13	I feel confident when using my communication skills	3·4 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-3·772	< 0·001
16	I am good at reading other people's emotions	3·2 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·4 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-3·272	0·001
19	I know how to show empathy or compassion	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-0·928	0·4
22	I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others	3·1 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-4·927	< 0·001
PARTICIPATION/VOICE					
2	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations	3·9 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·8 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	-0·229	0·8
9(R)	Police officers shouldn't take time to listen to members of the public complain about their problems	1·4 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	1·5 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-1·088	0·3
17(R)	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier	2·0 SD 0·6 (1 – 3)	1·9 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	-1·366	0·2
23	Police officers need to show a genuine interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·616	0·1
IMPARTIALITY/NEUTRALITY					
3	It's important to give everyone a good reason why we're stopping them, even if there is no need	3·7 SD 0·4 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·414	0·2
12	If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain	3·5 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·3 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	-2·214	0·03
14	When dealing with a member of the public's concerns, police officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are finished at the scene	3·4 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 4)	-0·788	0·4
21	It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules	3·6 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-1·189	0·2
RESPECT					
5	People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude	3·8 SD 0·4 (2 – 4)	3·5 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	-4·115	< 0·001
11(R)	In certain areas of towns/cities, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous	1·8 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	2·0 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-2·100	0·04
15	It's important that we remind people that they have rights and that we appear to follow them	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	3·6 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-1·095	0·3
20	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect	3·9 SD 0·3 (3 – 4)	3·7 SD 0·5 (3 – 4)	-4·447	< 0·001
TRUST					
6	Police officers have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively	3·0 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	3·0 SD 0·5 (2 – 4)	-0·971	0·3
8(R)	Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively	1·9 SD 0·5 (1 – 4)	2·0 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-1·293	0·2

18(R)	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many members of the public	2·2 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	2·3 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-0·933	0·4
24	Officers should treat the public as if they can be trusted to do the right thing	3·3 SD 0·6 (1 – 4)	3·1 SD 0·7 (1 – 4)	-1·964	0·05

Bonferroni criterion: 2p < 0·001.

Again, although not all statistically significant (see Table 8 above for details) the intervention group results show that:

- In terms of 'Communication' there was a favourable increase in all 8 of the measures, and the difference was more pronounced than with the control group scores (means).
- In terms of 'Voice' there was an adverse change in three of the statements and one change in a positive direction (Q17).
- In terms of 'Impartiality/Neutrality' there were two favourable increases (Q14 and Q21); one remained constant (Q3) and one decreased (Q12).
- In terms of 'Respect': the mean response for all four statements changed in a negative direction – which is an adverse outcome.
- In terms of 'Trust' attitudes changed in a negative direction for three of the four statements, while the 4th remained constant.

2.5 The Effects of Demographic Variables on Survey Responses

The effects of key demographic variables were investigated in order to determine whether there were any significant patterns that could be attributable to such characteristics as:

- Age
- Gender
- Education
- Being a Special Constable or in the Armed Forces
- Marital status
- Having children
- Undertaking Christmas shift work (intervention group only)

These variables were tested for all survey questionnaires (baseline and follow up – as discussed above, as well as additional scenarios – as outlined in the following section) and no significant patterns were detected with the exception of an age-dependence of the responses to one item in the 'encounters with the general public' questionnaire (see below).

With a large set of responses and with many variables, it was important to use appropriate Bonferroni-adjusted criteria for "significance" throughout and this conclusion is credible.

Consequently, it might be inferred that, for all other questionnaire items, the standard training of the subjects has successfully regularised any potential differences associated with the demographic variables.

Age

This was analysed in two ways: nonparametric (Spearman) correlation and, by dividing into two groups based on the median (< 27 and 27+ years, 97 and 62 subjects respectively), using the Mann-Whitney U test. No significant patterns were seen with the exception of 'It's important to apologise to victims of crime for what has happened to them' ($U = 1529{\cdot}0$, $2p < 0{\cdot}001$), in the sense that the older subjects are more in agreement.

Gender

The patterns of responses for male and female subjects (111 and 48 respectively) were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test and no significant patterns were seen.

Education

This was divided into two roughly equal groups, those with and those without a degree (78 and 78 subjects respectively). The patterns of responses for the two groups were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test and no significant patterns were seen.

Formerly Special Constable

The patterns of responses for former Special Constables and the other subjects (24 and 131 respectively) were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test. No significant patterns were seen with the exception of the item 'It's important to apologise to victims of crime for what has happened to them' ($U = 818{\cdot}5$, $2p = 0{\cdot}006$), in the sense that former Special Constables are less in agreement, although this result is borderline only and it should be noted that there is a decreasing likelihood with age of having previously been a Special Constable ($U = 1080{\cdot}5$, $2p = 0{\cdot}02$) whereas there is a significantly stronger association between age and a favourable response to this item ($2p < 0{\cdot}001$, described above), which seems to be the underlying reason for the association.

Formerly in Armed Forces

The patterns of responses for former members of the Armed Forces and the other subjects (11 and 142 respectively) were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test and no significant patterns were seen.

Marital Status

This was regrouped into 'Single' or 'Partnered' (97 and 59 subjects respectively). The patterns of responses for the two groups were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test and no significant patterns were seen.

Children

The patterns of responses for subjects with and without children (25 and 131 respectively) were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test. No significant patterns were seen and nor

was there any significant relationship with the actual number of children (Spearman correlations).

Christmas shift work

This was only recorded for the intervention group and the patterns of responses in the presence or absence of work over the Christmas period (68 and 26 subjects respectively) were analysed using the Mann-Whitney U test. No significant patterns were seen and nor was there any significant relationship with the actual number of shifts worked (Spearman correlations).

2.6 Summary of Key Findings from Main Surveys

To summarise, the analysis of the main surveys showed there were six statistically-significant changes between the control and intervention groups in terms of results, of which four were positive and two were negative.

It is interesting to note that the four statistically-significant positive results all occurred with the intervention group – and were all recorded in terms of 'Communication' measures.

Both negative results occurred in the 'Respect' scores: one occurred in both control and intervention groups and the second in the intervention group only.

The negative result that applied to both control and intervention groups occurred with the statement: 'Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect'.

The second negative result for the intervention group alone occurred with the statement: 'People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude'.

These results are further discussed in Section 7 of the report.

Section 3: Additional Scenarios

In addition to the main survey results outlined above, in order to gauge officer perceptions of, and attitudes towards, interaction with the public 'on the job' three scenarios developed for the Chicago QIP were used, with some adaptations made for context (Lawrence and Rosenbaum, 2013). These three scenarios covered key aspects of policing, namely: involvement in traffic stops; interacting or engaging with young people; and general interaction with members of the public. The statistical results for both control and intervention groups were collated and are summarised and discussed below, alongside any qualitative comments made by the officers.

3.1 Scenario 1: Traffic Stop

The first scenario involved officers rating how much priority they would give to various behaviours/actions on a scale of 1 (very low priority) to 5 (very high priority) when involved in a traffic stop, that is having pulled over a driver who has committed a traffic-related offence (for example using a mobile phone whilst driving). The table below summarises the mean responses for each behaviour/action for both the control and intervention groups.

Table 9: Responses to Traffic Stop Questionnaire

Traffic stop priority statements	Control Group (mean score; range 1 – 5)	Intervention Group (mean score; range 1 – 5)	Mann-Whitney U	2p
1. Be respectful when dealing with the driver	4·5 SD 0·6 (3 – 5)	4·6 SD 0·6 (3 – 5)	2523·5	0·3
2. Stay calm even if the driver shouts at you	4·6 SD 0·6 (3 – 5)	4·6 SD 0·6 (3 – 5)	2727·0	0·9
3. Acknowledge the driver's feelings about being stopped	3·9 SD 0·8 (2 – 5)	3·9 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	2612·0	0·6
4. Let the driver tell his/her side of the story	4·0 SD 0·8 (2 – 5)	4·0 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	2698·0	0·9
5. Try to answer all the driver's questions	4·5 SD 0·6 (2 – 5)	4·3 SD 0·8 (2 – 5)	2361·5	0·1
6. Explain the process for paying the ticket or going to court	4·8 SD 0·4 (4 – 5)	4·7 SD 0·6 (3 – 5)	2614·5	0·5
7. Offering the ticket	4·5 SD 0·6 (3 – 5)	4·6 SD 0·7 (3 – 5)	2423·5	0·2

Bonferroni criterion: $2p < 0{\cdot}007$.

Given the scale used, the higher the mean score, the more positive the outcome – from a procedural justice perspective (although this does not relate to statement 7 on 'offering the ticket').

Although none of these results was statistically-significant:

- The same mean score was achieved by both control and intervention groups for three statements (2, 3 and 4) with the responses being towards the higher end of the scale, which is a positive sign.

- Slightly higher mean scores were recorded for the control group in comparison with the intervention group for two statements:
    - Be respectful when dealing with the driver (1)
    - Offering the ticket (see above) (7)

- Slightly higher mean scores were recorded for the intervention group in comparison with the control group for statements:
    - Try to answer the driver's questions (5)
    - Explaining the process for paying the ticket or going to court (6)

Qualitative Comments

Officers were also invited to add qualitative comments, if they wanted, to explain or clarify their responses. Only one officer in the control group added a comment on this scenario – relating to respect (the first comment given below), but a few more officers in the intervention group added comments, as outlined below in relation to the statements on being respectful, staying calm, acknowledging the driver's feelings, and letting them tell their side of the story.

Respect

> It's important to be respectful and polite to everyone that we deal with to ensure that we provide a very high level of service at all times, which in turn will hopefully reduce the amount of complaints. *(Control Group Male, aged 24)*

Staying calm

> Officers must keep their cool, even if someone is behaving unacceptably towards them, this helps a situation to remain calm and not to escalate. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 24)*

Acknowledge driver's feelings

> The driver's feelings about being stopped are relatively irrelevant – they've committed a crime. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 22)*
>
> Acknowledging the driver's feeling about being stopped is a lower priority as they have committed a crime. *(Intervention Group, Male, aged 22)*

Let the driver tell his/her side of story

> Should the driver's side of the story be an exemption then it would of course be the highest priority, but in most cases like this I think that while I will listen to and acknowledge what they say, ensuring they understood the procedures is the highest priority. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 27)*

All responses

> All of the above are very important to the driver and should also be to an officer. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 37)*

The statistical results reported in Table 9 above suggest that the highest priority was accorded by both groups to explaining procedures, which was further reinforced by comments on ensuring procedures are understood, reducing opportunities for complaints, and preventing the escalation of potentially volatile situations.

The lowest priority in both control and intervention groups was given to acknowledging the driver's feelings (considered by one officer in the intervention group to be 'irrelevant') and letting the driver tell their side of the story, both of which would be considered important in terms of using a procedural justice approach. This may be indicative of an inclination towards more pragmatic and procedure-based policing as opposed to procedurally-just policing.

It is also perhaps the case that opinions were affected here by the scenario – whereby the driver was being pulled over because they had committed a traffic-related offence, meaning that from the officers' perspective the driver is first and foremost 'an offender'.

3.2 Scenario 2: Interacting with Young People

The second scenario involved officers rating a range of possible responses to dealing with young people 'hanging about' in a local park. The aim was to ascertain officer perceptions of certain methods for responding to the young people, whom they had asked to go home, but who did not want to be dispersed in this way and had consequently asserted their right to be in the park and started calling the officers names.

The written briefing provided acknowledged that some of the methods were likely to be more effective than others, while others could be more appropriate than others. A 10-point scale was used from 0 (not at all effective and appropriate) to 10 (very effective and appropriate).

The table below summarises the mean responses for each behaviour/action for both the control and intervention groups.

Table 10: Responses to Young People Scenario Questionnaire

Method	Control Group (mean score; range 0 – 10)	Intervention Group (mean score; Range 0 – 10)	Mann-Whitney U	2p
1. Accept and leave	0·8 SD 1·3 (0 – 6)	0·7 SD 1·4 (0 – 7)	2592·5	0·5
2. Attempt to defuse the situation by telling the young people they didn't have to go home, just leave the park	6·3 SD 1·9 (1 – 10)	5·9 SD 3·3 (0 – 10)	2713·5	0·9
3. Exert control and authority by shouting at the young people	2·0 SD 2·3 (0 – 10)	2·0 SD 2·2 (0 – 10)	2671·5	0·9
4. Use physical force to get the young people to leave and go home	1·2 SD 1·6 (0 – 6)	1·4 SD 1·7 (0 – 5)	2669·0	0·9
5. Arrest all of the young people present	1·1 SD 1·7 (0 – 8)	1·5 SD 2·3 (0 – 10)	2540·0	0·6

Bonferroni criterion: $2p < 0{\cdot}01$.

Bearing in mind that none of these results was statistically significant:

- From a procedural justice perspective, for statements 3, 4 and 5 the lower the mean score the more positive the results: the control group achieved higher mean scores than the intervention group in two of these statements, 4 and 5, whilst the same score was achieved for statement 3.

- The control group was marginally more likely to 'accept the situation and leave' (statement 1) than the intervention group, although for both groups this method was deemed not very effective or appropriate (very low means). This group was also more likely to attempt to diffuse the situation by telling the young people they didn't have to go home, just leave the park (statement 2).

Qualitative Comments

Officers were again invited to add qualitative comments, if they wanted, to explain or clarify their responses. Only two officers in the control group added comments – relating to talking to the young people and arresting them only if they were breaking the law, but more officers from the intervention group added comments, in relation to the statements on diffusing the situation, exerting control and authority, and arresting the young people, as well as more general comments, as outlined below.

Attempt to defuse the situation

Talk to them and explain why they should move on and how their actions have an impact on others. *(Control Group Male, aged 26)*

Exert control and authority

Can still gain control without shouting and using force. Arrest if escalates to more serious. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 37)*

Discipline works. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 22)*

Arrest all of the young people present

Arrest if young persons are acting in contravention of an ASB Dispersal Order. Perhaps just a simple chat would calm the situation down. At the end of the day it is a public place. Issue only begins if annoyance to others. *(Control Group Male, aged 23)*

With regards to the last point, arrest for a breach if causing concern to other members of the public. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 20)*

Depends if the behaviour of the young people amounts to a crime. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 27)*

General comments

Hanging about is not a crime especially if they are in a park. (Scored 0 on all questions) *(Intervention Group Male, aged 22)*

Only arrest if they have committed a crime. Only exert physical force if it is necessary, and only so much to diffuse the situation. Violence is not the answer. Use discretion and understand people's background. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 26)*

I don't feel that any of these are appropriate as they are not being any more than dispersed to another area to cause the same problem, which I would have to deal with an hour later. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 27)*

If they were abusive and name calling I would note their details. But I would use tactical communication assertively to ensure they dispersed. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 25)*

It would depend on the attitudes and demeanour of the young people and the complainer involved in the call as to how the situation could be most effectively dealt with. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 24)*

What about asking the young people why they are there? What they are doing? *(Intervention Group Male, aged 21)*

The last 2 options are not appropriate but would remove the problem. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 26)*

The number of comments made about this scenario (in contrast to scenario 1) perhaps reflect less of a 'right or wrong' approach. Whereas a couple of comments indicated a negative view of the young people's situation, most were supportive of a more procedurally-just response focused on communication (chat, conversation, dialogue). It was recognised that the young people were not necessarily doing anything wrong and that discretion could be used here. However, some of the statements were less 'understanding', for example a mention of the attitude and demeanour of the young people and the complainant rather than focusing on what the young people were doing, and an uncritical view that the young people were causing a problem and therefore would continue to do so.

3.3 Scenario 3: Encounters with the General Public

The third scenario involved officers rating the extent to which they agreed with certain statements relating to engagement with the public, including victims of crime. The scale used was from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), but given the wording of the statements, there is no generally applicable measurement relating to a positive outcome from a procedural justice perspective. Instead each statement was analysed individually, taking into account what would be a 'desirable' outcome, either a low score (L) or high score (H), as indicated below (column 1).

The table below summarises the mean responses for each behaviour/action for both the control and intervention groups.

Table 11: Responses to Encounters with General Public Questionnaire.

General Public Statements	Control Group (mean score; range 1 – 5)	Intervention Group (mean score; range 1 – 5)	Mann-Whitney U	2p
1. All people should be treated with respect regardless of their attitude (L)	1·8 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	1·8 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	2651·0	0·8
2. It is OK to be rude when someone is rude to you (H)	4·3 SD 0·9 (2 – 5)	4·2 SD 0·8 (1 – 5)	2496·0	0·4
3. Being respectful is nearly impossible when you are dealing with a gang member (H)	4·0 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	4·2 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	2493·5	0·4
4. Officers can't be expected to keep emotions in check when people are disrespectful (H)	4·2 SD 0·9 (1 – 5)	4·2 SD 0·9 (1 – 5)	2640·5	0·8
5. The time… spent chatting with average citizen could be better spent investigating crime (H)	4·0 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	4·2 SD 0·8 (2 – 5)	2520·5	0·5
6. It's important to apologise to victims of crime for what has happened to them (L)	3·1 SD 1·0 (1 – 5)	3·5 SD 1·1 (1 – 5)	2194·5	0·04

7. It's important to acknowledge victims' feelings and concerns (L)	1·6 SD 1·1 (1 – 5)	1·7 SD 1·2 (1 – 5)	2642·5	0·8
8. It's important to be courteous (L)	1·5 SD 1·1 (1 – 5)	1·6 SD 1·1 (1 – 5)	2652·0	0·8

Bonferroni criterion: 2p < 0·006.

Although none of these results was statistically-significant:

- Both control and intervention groups scored the same for statements 1 (on being respectful) and 4 (on keeping emotions in check when others are disrespectful).
- In terms of being courteous (statement 8) and returning rudeness (statement 2) the control group mean scores were marginally more positive (from a procedural justice perspective) than the intervention group's scores (higher for statement 2 and lower for statement 8).
- In relation to responding to victims of crime the control group's mean scores were also more positive from a procedural justice perspective than the intervention group (as the lower the score the more positive the result for both statements).
- In contrast the intervention group scored marginally higher for statements 3 (on gang members) and 5 (on chatting to the public), which is suggestive of a more procedurally just outlook.

Qualitative Comments

Additional comments were made by two members of the control group (both about the statements relating to victims) and six members of the intervention group (on the issues of being respectful, apologising to victims and acknowledging their feelings, and being courteous), as outlined below.

All people should be treated with respect regardless of their attitude

Communication ensures good relations with the community. Respect should be shown to all people, regardless. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 26)*

Being respectful is nearly impossible when you are dealing with a gang member

Having worked as a police officer in (English police force), in an extremely rough area, the local youths do not respond to the 'softly softly' approach. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 22)*

It's important to apologise to victims of crime for what has happened to them

Why apologise? It's not that we did something wrong. Only if we could have prevented it. *(Intervention Group Male, aged 21)*

Apologising to victims can be patronising in some circumstances. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 23)*

Apologising for crime may seem patronising. Sympathy is a better option. *(Control Group Male, aged 21)*

Arrow to statement 6 and the word 'Police?' written next to it (as in 'why should the police apologise'?) *(Control Group Male, aged 24)*

It's important to be courteous

Manners are universal and cost nothing. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 26)*

It is important to be polite and treat everyone according to their needs. *(Intervention Group Female, aged 24)*

These results generally suggest positive attitudes towards dealing with members of the public in terms of positive communication, respect, exhibiting good manners and treating people according to their needs. Attitudes towards dealing with victims, however, were mixed: from a procedural justice perspective the scores were much more positive in respect of acknowledging victims' feelings and concerns (statement 6) than apologising to victims of crime for what has happened (statement 7). These are explained to some extent by the qualitative comment querying why the police should do this and more generally around issues relating to sympathy and empathy. Clearly this is not a straightforward issue, and it is interesting to note that both members of the control and intervention groups suggested that apologising to victims could be perceived as patronising (which was also mentioned in the focus groups). While this may be the case, procedural justice research suggests this can go some way to alleviating some of the immediate distress felt by victims of crime.

3.4 Summary of Key Findings from Additional Scenarios

The results presented above from the additional scenarios reveal a wide range of attitudes and perceptions of how best to engage with members of the public in different contexts. Whilst some of the results and comments are more indicative of a procedurally-just approach than others, it is acknowledged that the groups included probationers from a wide range of ages (and by association levels of maturity), as well as professional experience, which they bring to their role. More importantly perhaps is an ability to recognise that different responses will elicit different results, and openness to different approaches that recognise the needs of different police 'customers'/'clients'. These results also suggest that the gains in communication recorded in the main survey results do not necessarily translate into behavioural indicators/intentions.

Section 4: Observations

All probationers involved in the trial were observed undertaking a number of practical/role-play exercises, which are part of the standard police training at the SPC. The practical days observed were based around routine police encounters (for example, delivering a death notification, dealing with a domestic dispute, possession of a controlled container, possession of a firearm, drinking outwith permitted hours) and road policing (for example failure to report an accident, failure to provide a breath test, driving whilst not wearing a seatbelt, driving whilst using a mobile phone, drunk in charge of a vehicle). During these practical sessions officers are observed by police trainers and assessed at the end of each role play session as 'developing competence', 'competent' or 'exceeding competence'. Officers are also given on-the-spot feedback on their performance using established criteria, including (where applicable) respect for diversity, effective communication, job knowledge, personal effectiveness, team working, personal awareness and leadership.

For the purposes of this research it was deemed appropriate to use the practical sessions, which take place towards the end of the training period, to observe probationers in action. The aim was to observe behaviour from a more procedural justice perspective as opposed to purely police procedures, although clearly the criteria used above suggest a wider remit than just procedures in the formal assessment of competence. There were eight researchers involved in the observation sessions, which took place over four days (two days each for the control and intervention groups). In order to ensure consistency of observations, an observation checklist was developed covering a number of key indicators of procedurally-just encounters, namely: verbal communication; sensitivity and empathy; active listening; professional intentions/motives, and cultural awareness, as outlined below, which were used to provide an overall score for each probationer.

Table 12: Observation Criteria

Key indicators	For example:
Verbal communication	Acknowledgement of member of pubic in greeting; introductions; asking nature of the incident; providing information about police intervention; allowing person to tell their story without interruption; asking questions; making summary statements
Empathy/sympathy	Apologising for what has happened; acknowledging feelings/concerns; making reassuring/embarrassing statements; taking matters seriously; offering solutions to problem; trying to reduce stress
Active listening	Making eye contact; nodding in agreement; using facial expressions and attentive phrases to show interest
Professional intentions/motives	Appears to want to help resolve problem; answers questions; knowledgeable and competent; explains actions to be taken
Cultural awareness	Neutral; fair

Using these criteria probationers were scored on a three-point categorical scale of weak (1), fair/average (2) and good (3). The scores were collated and analysed using Pearson Chi-Square to ascertain any differences between the control group and the intervention group. The results are presented in full in Table 13 at the end of this section, and each of the indicators is discussed in turn below. Differences between the two groups were noted for all measures to a greater or lesser degree, suggesting an overall pattern of the intervention group being more likely to score 'good' and the control group being more likely to score 'fair/average', however none of these differences was found to be statistically-significant.

4.1 Verbal Communication

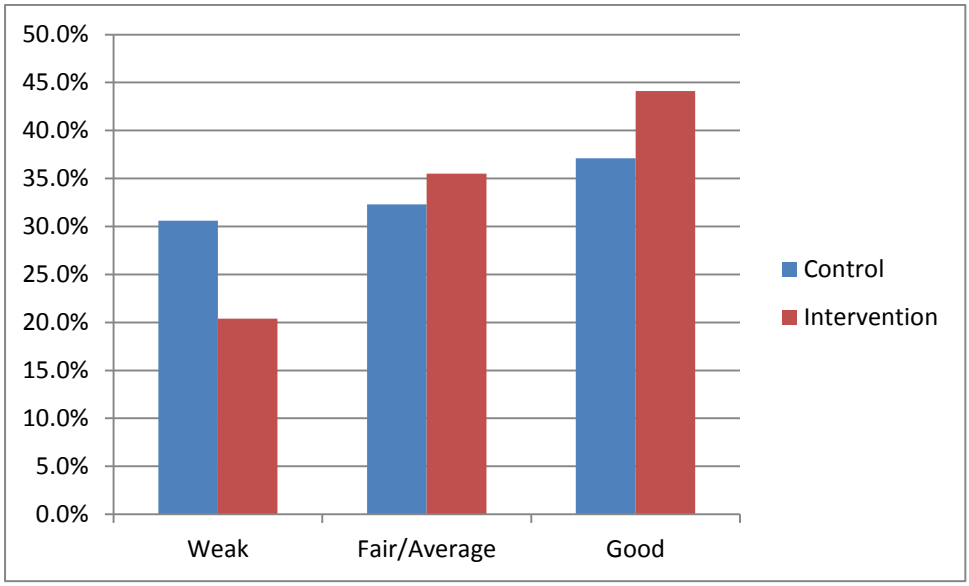
Overall, most (83. 9%) of the probationers scored either fair/average or good for verbal communication skills, suggesting that, in the most part, probationers perform satisfactorily on this measure. There were notable differences between the control and intervention groups with the intervention group probationers being more likely (57. 0%) to score 'good' compared to the control group (41. 9%). These findings are presented in Chart 1. Of those scoring 'good', just over two-thirds (67. 1%) were in the intervention group.

Chart 1: Verbal Communication Observation Scores by Group

4.2 Sensitivity/Empathy

Again, the majority (75. 5%) of probationers in the overall sample scored 'fair/average' or 'good' for sensitivity and empathy demonstrated. There were only slight differences noted between the two groups for sensitivity/empathy. The data revealed that the control group probationers (30. 6%) were more likely to be scored 'weak' than the intervention group probationers (20. 4%), whilst the intervention group probationers were slightly more likely to receive a 'good' score (44. 1%) than the control group (37. 1%). These differences were not statistically significant and the data is visually represented in Chart 2 and Table13.

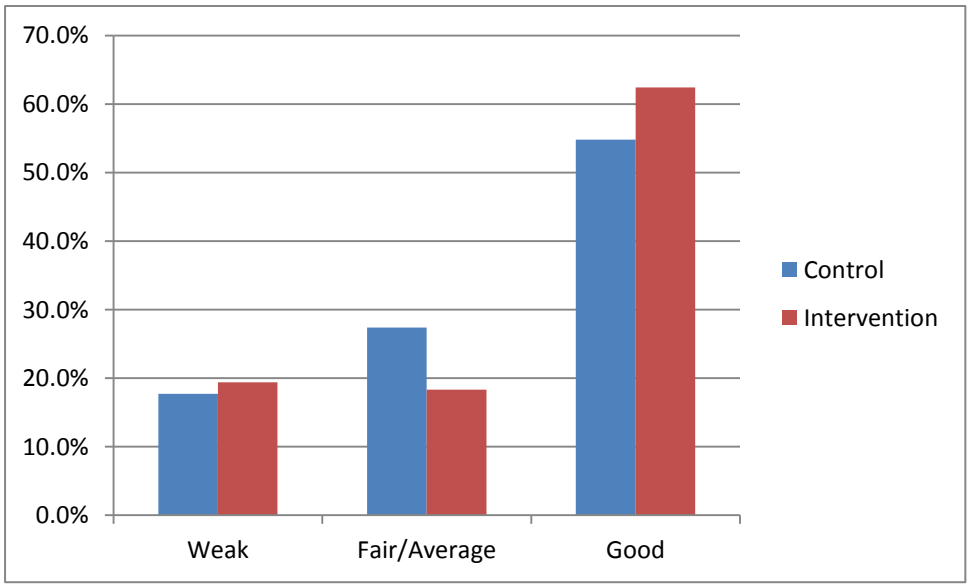
Chart 2: Sensitivity/Empathy Observation Scores by Group



4.3 Active Listening

The majority of probationers in the overall sample scored either 'fair/average' or 'good' for active listening, with 81.3% achieving this score. Again, small differences were evident between the groups, but these were not statistically significant. For example, probationers in the intervention group were more likely (62. 4%) than the control group (54. 7%) to achieve a 'good' score, whereas the control group probationers were slightly more likely (27. 4%) to receive a 'fair/average' score than the intervention group (18. 3%). Differences in those getting a 'weak' score were negligible but the intervention group received this slightly more (19. 4%) than the control group (17. 7%). This data is represented in Chart 3 and Table 13.

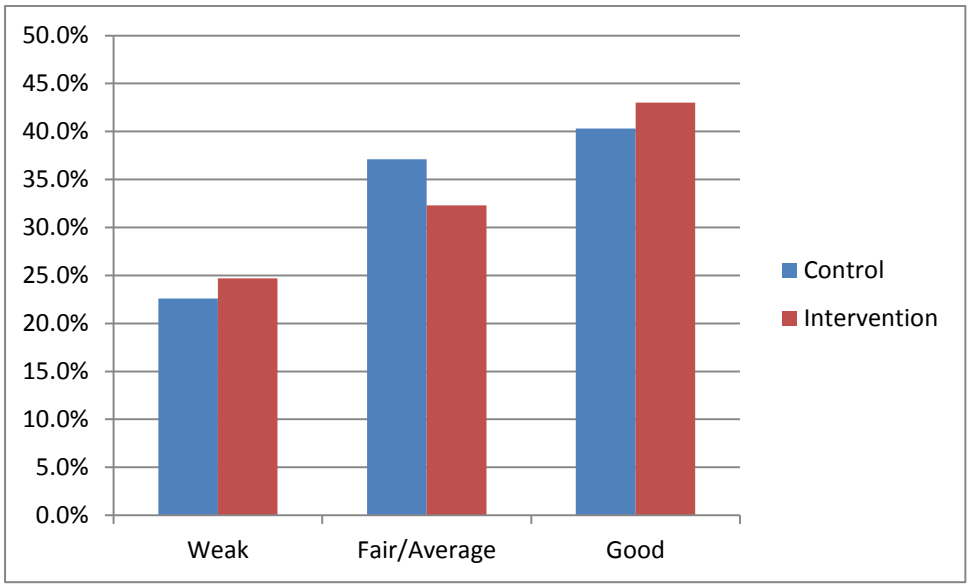
Chart 3: Active Listening Observation Scores by Group



4.4 Professional Intentions

Again, the majority of probationers in the overall sample scored either 'fair/average' or 'good' for professional intentions and motives. Although differences between the two groups were smaller for this measure than previous measures, they followed a similar pattern with those in the intervention group more likely (43. 0%) to score 'good' than those in the control group (40. 3%), and those in the control group more likely (37. 1%) to score 'fair/average' than those in the intervention group (32. 3%). However the differences were very small and not statistically significant. This data is presented in Chart 4 and Table 13.

Chart 4: Professional Intentions Observation Scores by Group



4.5 Overall Scores

Again, a similar pattern emerges for the overall observation score for probationers. The majority of the overall sample scored either 'fair/average' or 'good'. A similar pattern to the other measures detailed above emerged, with probationers in the intervention group receiving a score of 'good' more often (47. 3%) than the control group (40. 3%), and the control group receiving a score of 'fair/average' more often (45. 2%) than those in the intervention group (36. 6%). These findings, which were not statistically significant, are represented in Chart 5 and Table 13.

Chart 5: Overall Observation Scores by Group

4.6 Summary of Key Findings from Observation Scores

Analysis of observation scores for probationers in the control and intervention groups reveals a consistent pattern, in that for all measures probationers in the intervention group were more likely to score 'good' than the control group, and those in the control group were more likely to score 'fair/average' than those in the intervention group, however none of these differences proved to be statistically-significant. This result suggests the training delivered did improve probationers' performance on these measures, but the lack of statistical significance for all of these measures means the data should be viewed with caution, although it is suggestive of an overall pattern.

Table 13: Observation Scores by Category and Group

CRITERIA	CONTROL	INTERVENTION	TOTAL	$\chi^2(1)$ for trend	2p
VERBAL COMMUNICATION*				0·6	0·4
Weak	12. 9% (8)	18. 3% (17)	16. 1% (25)		
Fair/Average	45. 2% (28)	24. 7% (23)	32. 9% (51)		
Good	41. 9% (26)	57. 0% (53)	51. 0% (79)		
SENSITIVITY/EMPATHY				1·8	0·2
Weak	30. 6% (19)	20. 4% (19)	24. 5% (38)		
Fair/Average	32. 3% (20)	35. 5% (33)	34. 2% (53)		
Good	37. 1% (23)	44. 1% (41)	41. 3% (64)		
ACTIVE LISTENING				0·2	0·6
Weak	17. 7% (11)	19. 4% (18)	18. 7% (29)		
Fair/Average	27. 4% (17)	18. 3% (17)	21. 9% (34)		
Good	54. 8% (34)	62. 4% (58)	59. 4% (92)		
PROFESSIONAL INTENTIONS				0·8	0·4
Weak	22. 6% (14)	24. 7% (23)	23. 9% (37)		
Fair/Average	37. 1% (23)	32. 3% (30)	34. 2% (53)		
Good	40. 3% (35)	43. 0% (40)	41. 9% (65)		
OVERALL				0·2	0·6
Weak	14. 5% (9)	16. 1% (15)	15. 5% (24)		
Fair/Average	45. 2% (28)	36. 6% (34)	40. 0% (62)		
Good	40. 3% (25)	47. 3% (44)	44. 5% (69)		

* X^2=7. 040, d. f. =2, p=0. 030

Note: $\chi^2(2) = 7{\cdot}0$ for heterogeneity in Verbal Communication (1p = 0·03), although Bonferroni criterion 1p < 0·01.

Section 5: Focus Groups

This section summarises the insights that were gained from the focus groups conducted with probationary police officers at the Scottish Police College as part of the SPACE Project. Four focus groups were conducted with probationer officers, two of which were conducted with members of the control group (who received no additional input on procedural justice) in December 2013, and a further two conducted with members of the intervention group (who did receive additional input) in March 2014. Each group comprised between five and eight members and discussion was centred around a schedule that included questions on the officers' motivations for entering the police, their perceptions about the role of a police officer, their thoughts about the police training they had received, the extent to which they felt prepared for working in the police and the resources they were taking with them as they left the College to embark upon their careers in Police Scotland. Most importantly for the purposes of this project, the officers were asked to comment on their perceptions of core policing values and procedural justice principles, how they intended to uphold these values once they left the College, and the possible challenges they could foresee in doing so.

A conventional thematic analysis of the data was conducted, and conceptual themes and sub-themes were identified. In the sections that follow, the salient themes that emerged from the data that relate most closely to the project's aims are outlined under three key areas: choosing the police as a career and the role of a police officer; procedural justice and the challenges of upholding values; and feedback on police training and key police resources. Key quotations are provided to illustrate the views of the focus group participants on these and related issues, with a focus on procedural justice concepts and the implications and impact of such principles for police officers.

5.1 Theme 1: Choosing the Police as a Career and the Role of an Officer

Officers in both the control and intervention groups referred to the fact that entering the police had been a lifelong ambition, which had motivated them to apply to gain entry to the Scottish Police College. Some had made the transition from other careers, whilst others had arrived straight from a University degree programme, had previously served as special constables or had come to the realisation that the police was their chosen career as a result of personal development or disenchantment with other types of employment.

In the focus groups conducted with members of the control group, several officers talked about having had positive experiences of the police themselves when they were younger, and the way in which these experiences had motivated them towards applying to the force. These positive experiences often centred around seeing officers who could communicate well, interact positively with members of the public and demonstrate a pastoral approach to their work:

> I had a part-time job at the time and dealt with the police on a number of occasions when shop-lifting etc. happened. And seeing how cool the police officers were at the time I looked more into the job to see the things you could do within it … the way they interacted with me as a person, the way they appeared so human as opposed to … the police are not associated at a human level. *(Control Group Male)*

> For me it was my sort of, my first run-in with the police that I remember when I was eleven years old. Where I grew up it was kind of rough and … it was the two community police officers one day when they had a dealing with us, they took me away and spoke to me. And just the way that they are, they were with me made me realize that the people I was hanging about with was making me into someone I didn't want to actually be … you know they just treated me like, they didn't pull me away and were shouting at me and everything, they just spoke to me. And it was just a good introduction, I had never even met a policeman before that. *(Control Group Male)*

When asked to articulate their views on the fundamental role of a police officer in society, members of the control group focused on public safety, social service, communication and a need for proactive prevention:

> Keeping people safe, for me that just kind of says what is expected of us. And as a citizen what I expect from the police, before I joined that is exactly what I would have expected. *(Control Group Male)*

> I have heard people say before that police officers take on a kind of social work role, and they deal with pretty much everything from domestics, relationships breaking down to people potentially committing suicide. *(Control Group Female)*

> I think being able to communicate appropriately because a lot of people have the perception that the police do not want anything to do with them, they are not interested in their view and they only respond to things rather than having a more proactive view, actually going out to speak to people. *(Control Group Female)*

> You need to be more proactive … It is about educating people and being proactive and going through preventative measures to make sure people are not actually committing the crimes. I think that is just as important now as getting the people that have committed them. *(Control Group Male)*

In addition, one officer in the control group referred directly to the Human Rights Act, and the need for officers to provide clear explanations to members of the public and be transparent in their approach:

> I think the Human Right Act comes into it massively, giving people the option … explaining things correctly, just being up front and straightforward with people as opposed to not

> necessarily telling everything or providing all the options that are available. I think by being transparent in that it creates a better picture. *(Control Group Male)*

In the focus sessions conducted with the intervention group, officers did not talk to the same extent about having been inspired by other officers, but some did refer to the way in which their motivation for joining the police emerged because of a strong ambition to help other people in the community:

> I came from a customer service background so I enjoy helping people and working with people and I just felt it would be a very good job to do just to help the community. *(Intervention Group Male)*

Members of the intervention group also referred to the role of a police officer in relation to the need for keeping communities safe and engaging in positive communication and community engagement:

> (It's about) keeping people safe (Intervention Group *Female)*

> Communicating with people at all levels and seeing the police service as a force. It's more a service that we can - that people aren't afraid to speak to the police and that we're more involved with communities*. (Intervention Group Male)*

For one officer, communication was seen as paramount and the most important resource they thought they would take away with them:

> Learn how to speak to members of the public… You can never tell how someone is going to react to you and communication is number one. (Control Group Male)

However, there were some officers in the intervention group who tended to focus on more traditional skills associated with enforcement and the detection and reporting of criminal incidents during the initial discussions about the police role:

> Just maintaining order in the community. *(Intervention Group Female)*

> Reporting crime to the Fiscal. *(Intervention Group Male)*

Thus it seemed that officers placed an emphasis on the need for positive communication, community engagement and the need for open, transparent dialogue with the public. However, from the evidence that emerged from the focus groups it appeared that the

control group placed slightly more emphasis on being inspired by other officers who were able to demonstrate these skills and on the need for upholding human rights and focusing on proactive prevention of crime. Among the members of the intervention group, a small minority of officers made more direct reference to the need for enforcement and on the reporting of crime as a central role of the Scottish police officer.

5.2 Theme 2: Procedural Justice and the Challenges of Upholding Values

In the control group, officers associated procedural justice (which they had not received any inputs on) with the fundamental Police Scotland values of integrity, fairness and respect and talked in some detail about the way in which they felt it was important to treat everyone – including offenders – as human beings:

> Integrity I think just sums it all up for me. Again I think why I joined the job is for those words. I have never had a career ever that stands that strongly for it. And when you work with colleagues like this it reaffirms that integrity between all of us and it is very powerful. It is wonderful to be part of something like that, really, really good. *(Control Group Female)*

> The values come into day-to-day policing and everyone is given so many opportunities to be treated as a human as opposed to being a criminal or something like that. The way that they are treated is not as a criminal but as a person. *(Control Group Male)*

> You should have the three fundamental aspects, integrity, fairness, and respect. You should have them, that's what I believe. And when I came into the police I believed that I am honest, I can treat people with respect, and I am nice. *(Control Group Female)*

In the intervention group (who had received inputs focused on procedural justice), officers believed that the values underpinning Police Scotland were simply an extension of those values that all good citizens should aspire to, and that procedural justice was about treating people fairly, and with respect and empathy:

> I think it is a very basic principle and if you can draw on it well not even that – in society if you are a good person then you should have all these values. You should just apply it to any job. *(Intervention Group Female)*

> Just treat people fairly or as fairly as you can. *(Intervention Group Male)*

> Don't make assumptions on people, just treat everybody with respect. *(Intervention Group Male)*

> Put yourself in their shoes and treat them how you'd want to be treated. *(Intervention Group Male)*

Members of the control group agreed that explaining police procedures to members of the public was highly important, both to ensure that officers minimized public complaints and to ensure that a focus on human rights was placed at the forefront of police practice:

> I think it is very important that they understand why you are doing the things you are doing … you need to be transparent and people need to understand why you are doing a certain thing and the reason behind why you are doing it … you are not covering your own back but it leaves you with very little room for complaint or anything like that. So as long as we are transparent that person knows exactly what is going to happen. *(Control Group Male)*

> It swings back to the old human rights' issue again. We have the right to take away somebody's liberty and freedom so if you are taking somebody away they have the right to know why and what the procedure is*. (Control Group Male)*

> It kind of helps to build up trust as well, I mean if you are going around detaining or arresting people and not telling them why, and issuing tickets … then there is no trust there because if you say I am doing this and this is why I am doing it then people think, he has told me why he is doing it. Obviously trust is a big thing ... *(Control Group Male)*

Similarly, intervention group members saw the importance of explaining police procedures to the public in terms of both the need to ensure the presence of robust evidence in court, but also because of the need to build positive relationships with members of the public and to be respectful:

> Obviously it stands well in court if you were, for example, if you caution somebody and you ask them, 'Do you understand that?' What does that mean to you and you relay it back and when you're in court then they say, 'my client didn't understand that' then you can say, 'well actually they did because they relayed that back to me.' *(Intervention Group Male)*

> I would imagine people are more likely to accept what's happening, even if it's not necessarily something that's going to benefit them, even if they are going to get the jail or whatever, but if they know why they are getting it then I think they might be more accepting. *(Intervention Group Male)*

> I think it shows respect to the person that you are taking time to explain to them and make sure they understand and they might well go 'yes okay it is better if you are going to arrest me at least you have told me why.' *(Intervention Group Female)*

Members of the control groups also emphasized the importance of listening to the public, which was seen as an important means of building trust and generating rapport:

> They probably have more information on what is going on in their area than what we do. By speaking to them you are getting their insight on things and maybe they have got areas that they are concerned about and you can listen and it is building up trust with them. Once you

have got that trust they will give you more information and you just need to maintain that and they will help you in the long run. *(Control Group Female)*

Similarly, intervention group members talked about the need to listen to members of the public as a means of gaining better information, and building positive and reciprocal relationships:

> Listen and then they think you're interested in them, they're more likely to give you information in the future and just a better relationship overall. *(Intervention Group Female)*

> If you do not listen to them and treat with respect, if something ever happens to them or if they're a witness to something they would be less likely to help you because you treated them badly and you haven't listened to them. *(Intervention Group Male*)

The need for empathy was highlighted by many of the officers during discussions. In the control groups, there were mixed opinions about the extent to which officers could realistically demonstrate empathy and some focused on the balance between being professional and empathetic:

> Empathy is massive when dealing with a victim. You need them to know, 'yes we do care' and you can show empathy towards them but you are still going to be professional - you are not going to give them a cuddle, hold their hand … and say everything is going to be all right because it might necessarily not be. But you need to show empathy towards them and show that you care… *(Control Group Male)*

> I think it is difficult to get across the right amount of empathy and the right amount of professionalism as well. Because you are seen as a police officer you might be looked at as someone who is not necessarily unemotional but someone who is hardened to it. So you being there as a strong person is arguably … that could be better for the person than if you are like 'come here and give me a cuddle.' … If you are there and you are acting strong and you are in control you would just say 'listen, I am sorry for whatever it is.' I think being less empathetic and having more professionalism is better. *(Control Group Male)*

> Sometimes I find that (empathy) a very difficult one because especially the job we are going into we will never be able to understand what that person is going through. Empathy is basically having an understanding of how that person feels. (…) But we really will not, you know what I mean, there could be times (…) you would never understand how that person would feel (…). You cannot but you can at least be respectful and fair and have integrity to be there for them as much as you can be. (*Control Group Female)*

In the intervention group, there was a feeling among some that officers should be impartial and distance themselves from showing empathy towards victims and suspects. Others felt that, while sympathy should be avoided, empathy should be prioritized:

> I think you try and distance yourself from your victims and suspects because you do not want to get the empathy – it is almost discouraged. You have to be impartial to do your job because if you start empathising your judgment may start to waver a bit with what you are doing. *(Intervention Group Male)*

> I think the sudden death message scenario, treating a person with empathy rather than sympathy and say, 'I know what you're going through.' Well, people can say, 'well, actually you don't'. But if you're empathetic with someone, that's a bit more. *(Intervention Group Male)*

Officers from both control and intervention groups were asked to talk about particular situations where it may be challenging to uphold procedural justice values. In the control groups, several officers referred to the challenges involved in being respectful towards perpetrators of certain types of crime, such as sex offences, while also recognising the need to be professional:

> I suppose when you are dealing with the bad guys who have done some terrible crime, do you bother to treat them with a bit of respect? You are going to have to listen to them and put your own principles and thoughts to the side and not let any prejudices you may have (get in the way). *(Control Group Male)*

> Especially I think for us with kids as well, you kind of relate that lesson if you like to your own life and how it would affect you. And you know, but I would find it very hard just to go in and do the job. *(Control Group Female)*

Similarly, members from the intervention group also identified particular crimes where they would find it difficult to manage emotions, and to be fair and impartial and respectful:

> Especially in the case of child abuse that has got to be a big tumbler for me. *(Intervention Group Male)*

> I think when you deal with certain types of crime like domestic abuse or something like that, you would find it very difficult to stay professional and fair with the offender. *(Intervention Group Male)*

However, members of the intervention group also recognised the strong need to overcome personal emotions and be professional in everything they did, as a means of upholding their own reputation and the integrity of Police Scotland:

> That's when you have to be professional, just swallow it up. It's your job at the end of the day; your personal feelings don't come into it … If it's affected you, what you've dealt with,

> you know, then that's when you need to speak to somebody else but, you know, your job is your job. You have to get on with it; it's what you're getting paid for. It's what you came through this process for. *(Intervention Group Male)*
>
> Everything is at stake really. Everything because it's like the integrity of our organisation, losing public trust which has a knock on effect on everything, reporting crime, it affects your reputation and that of your colleagues as well if you've worked on a case together for so long and it all gets thrown away because you've not done your job properly. All that's going to sit with you and sit with the rest of your friends and our relationship with that other agency. It just affects everything basically. It's just essential. *(Intervention Group Male)*

Accordingly, both groups clearly placed a strong emphasis on the need to equate procedural justice with showing respect and fairness to members of the public. The need for empathy was highlighted, but officers all recognised the need to counter-balance this with the need to demonstrate professionalism. In the intervention group, there was slightly more of an emphasis on procedural justice being seen as a means to an end. For example, some officers viewed the need to explain procedures and build good relationships with the public as a means of gaining a more robust evidence-base and ensuring that local citizens cooperate with the police as witnesses in the future. Most focus group members recognised the difficulties that could be associated with demonstrating procedural justice when dealing with certain types of offenders, such as sex offenders, but officers recognised the need to overcome prejudices or emotional reactions and to be professional in all of their duties. Some members of the intervention group saw this as an essential means of upholding the overall integrity of Police Scotland.

5.3 Theme 3: Feedback on Police Training and Key Police Resources

Officers in all of the focus groups identified what they felt were the most effective parts of the training they had experienced at the Police College: In particular, they highlighted the practical exercises because they believed that these gave them a realistic sense of how to go through the process of dealing with the public and – on occasions – making an arrest. However, members of the intervention group also argued that it would have been more valuable to have done some of these exercises in a non-assessed environment. They also felt that input on the training was often centred around 'teaching towards the exam' as opposed to focusing on situations that would be really useful to them when they were out on the streets. Many of the officers across all of the focus groups highlighted the need for more officer safety training, and members of the control group felt that it would have been useful to wear body armour during some of these sessions. Physical education was highlighted as important, whereas some of the didactic classroom input and the early inputs by police organisations (such as the SPRA and Benevolent Fund) were seen as less useful.

Two members of the control group referred to inputs on diversity issues; while one officer recognized the relevance of the input in terms of the requirement to assess individual needs out on the streets, the other felt that the input could have been condensed into one day in order to make room for exploring other more pressing issues:

> … the diversity input (…) was not about treating everybody the same but about treating everybody for like their needs. So I think when you do get out on the street I think you will be able to … assess people's needs, and then treating them fairly to that need. *(Control Group Female)*

> You cover diversity over a couple of days. You could squash that maybe into one day and then you could maybe have more time to look at GPD (General Police Duties) or crime or something like that. *(Control Group Male)*

Officers in the intervention group talked very briefly about the additional inputs they had received from the research team on procedural justice issues. While there was a feeling that the sessions were helpful, some also felt that more value would have been placed on them had they been assessed:

> I think, in fairness to you guys, if they were assessing people they'd probably have taken a bit more notice, because people know it's not being assessed, you've not had people's full concentration in the sessions. *(Intervention Group Female)*

Finally, officers were asked to identify the most important resource that they would take with them out on patrol post-training. Focus group members from the control group highlighted that their tutor constable would be a very important resource, because of the experience they would bring with them and support they would offer them. The police notebook was also highlighted, as a means of documenting everything and gathering a robust evidence base. A strong need for vigilance and alertness was also seen as important. Some officers highlighted the need for strong communication skills as a means of engaging members of the public and avoiding confrontational situations and the use of force:

> You can never tell how someone is going to react to you and communication is number one. *(Control Group Male)*

> (Communication) is my most important (resource) and I am going out to use it so that I do not have to get the baton out … just talk my way out of any situation. *(Control Group Female)*

Among intervention group members, the notebook was also highlighted as an important means of recording information and maintaining a 'fair and accurate record' of events that

officers encountered. However, again communication was highlighted by several of the officers as being the most important resource that they would take with them out onto the streets:

> I think probably your mouth, being able to speak to people. *(Intervention Group Female)*
>
> Your best weapon is your voice. (*Intervention Group Male)*
>
> I talk to everybody. I go the supermarket and say 'hello' to everyone and not one person acknowledges me … it is just because you have it here (at the College) all the time. *(Intervention Group Female)*

5.4 Summary of Key Findings from Focus Groups

Drawing these insights together, it seems that the officers valued the practical elements of their training over the classroom-based inputs, and would have preferred to have more time for the physical aspects of the programme, including OST. While inputs associated with procedural justice, such as the existing tutor focus on diversity, were valued, it also appeared that officers would have liked them to be condensed more in order to focus on more practical elements of the training. Among focus group members in the intervention group, very little was said about the additional inputs on procedural justice that they had received, but there was a feeling that these would have been more valued by probationers if they had been an assessed element of the training programme.

From the evidence gleaned from the focus groups, it would appear that all new officers placed an emphasis on the need for open dialogue and positive engagement with members of the public and recognised the importance of drawing on key principles reflected in the procedural justice approach and Police Scotland's guiding values in terms of showing respect, fairness and empathy in the course of their duties in order to develop trust and positive relations with communities. However, there were some subtle differences in opinion between members of the control and intervention groups that came through during the discussions: while members of the control group placed slightly more emphasis on the need to uphold human rights and focus on proactive prevention of crime, some intervention group responses indicated that upholding procedural justice was seen as a means of ensuring public cooperation and creating a robust police evidence-base. Although focusing on these values as part of their police training was seen as valuable, some officers emphasised the importance of the practical elements of their training and some would have preferred these to be increased, with a corresponding reduction in some of the other classroom inputs.

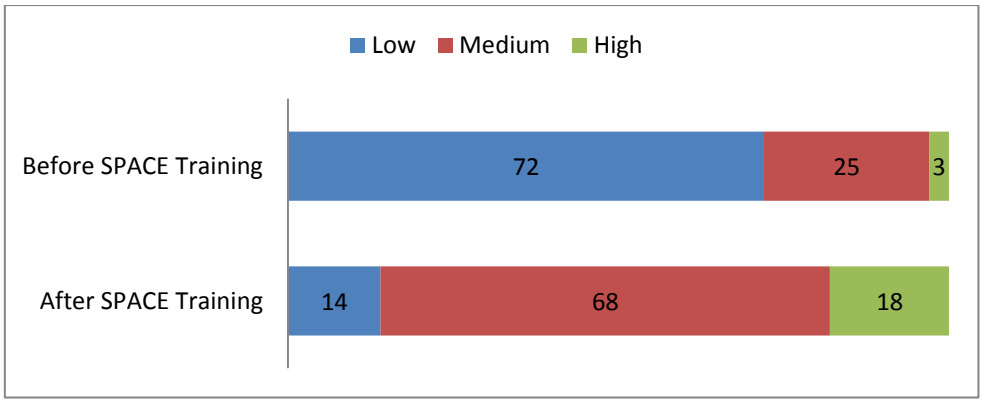
Section 6: Project Evaluation

Towards the end of the training period, after the last input but before the final survey was conducted, probationers were asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire about their involvement in the SPACE Project, which included questions on the knowledge they have gained about procedural justice in terms of policing, and any impact it may have had on their attitudes, perceptions and intended behaviour. The key results are summarised below.

6.1 Knowledge of Procedural Justice and Related Key Issues

To begin, probationers were asked about their knowledge of procedural justice both before and after involvement in SPACE. Figure 3 indicates there was a significant increase in awareness/knowledge of procedural justice between the start and end of the project, which is a positive outcome.

Figure 3: How would you rate your overall knowledge of procedural justice?



This question was further broken down into some of the key constituent parts of the training covered, as outlined in Table 14, where the results have been ranked in order of the percentage of probationers who answered 'yes' to the question of whether they had a better understanding of these issues. From Table 14 below it is clear that the percentage of probationers who responded favourably was highest in respect of the use of empathy in police work, the role of active listening, and what police legitimacy is and why it's important, which all scored above 75%. In contrast, members of the intervention group were less likely to agree that they had a better understanding of the opportunities associated with using a procedural justice framework (more than half responded 'no' or 'don't know') and of the challenges associated with using this approach in police practice (46% responded 'no' or don't know').

Table 14: As a result of SPACE training do you have a better understanding of?

Training Focus	YES %	NO %	DON'T KNOW
The use of empathy in police work	83	11	6
The role of active listening in police work	80	14	5
What police legitimacy is and why it's important	78	15	7
How procedural justice approaches can help develop positive relationships with young people	69	18	13
What procedural justice means and how it applies to general policing	66	15	19
Why the concept of procedural justice applies to everyone you may come into contact with in your job	65	16	19
How procedural justice approaches might be particularly pertinent when dealing with victims of sensitive crimes	64	16	20
The significance of procedural justice approaches in helping build trust and confidence in 'disadvantaged' communities	58	17	25
The challenges associated with using a procedural justice framework in police practice	54	16	30
The opportunities associated with using a procedural justice framework in police practice	47	23	30

These responses were further supported by some of the qualitative comments provided by probationers as part of this evaluation exercise. For example, when asked to name the most important things learned from SPACE training, the most frequently cited first responses by far centred around the key words of 'empathy' and 'active listening', as well as closely associated terms, as illustrated in Table 15 below.

Table 15: What are the most important things you have learned during SPACE training?

No of mentions	Key concept	Related
31	'Empathy'	'Empathy and sympathy are different' Empathy is crucial in all areas of crime Empathy is important tin policing Empathy (how to better relate to victims of crime) Empathy/sympathy Importance of empathy Importance of empathy to policing The use of empathy The use of empathy in police work To be empathetic
17	Active listening	Importance of active listening Listen Listening Listening is important

6.2 Using Procedural Justice Principles 'on the Job'

Members of the intervention group were also asked how likely it was that they would implement aspects of SPACE training in their work on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 = unlikely or not very likely and 5 = very likely. From the results presented in Table 16 it is clear that more probationers thought it unlikely they would use the knowledge and skills covered in the SPACE sessions than those who thought it very likely, which is a disappointing result as discussed below.

Table 16: How likely do you think it is that you will use the knowledge and skills covered in SPACE sessions in your work as a police officer?

Unlikely/not very likely .....Very likely				
15	24	33	20	8

A related question concerned whether probationers thought the training in procedural justice would make any difference to the way they would do their job, on a scale of 'little to no difference' to a 'significant difference'.

Table 17: To what extent do you expect SPACE training will make a difference to the way you do your job?

Little to no difference .....Significant difference				
23	34	35	8	1

Table 17 suggests that the procedural justice training would have little impact on how they would do their job in the future, which may also seem on the surface to be a disappointing result, however as some of the probationers pointed out, this was because they already knew about and embraced the relevant principles:

- *I do not think SPACE will change my approach to the job, as a good communicator, listener and generally social person. I would have used all the skills discussed by Space anyway.*
- *I don't mean to sound harsh but while I entirely agree with the principles, I already use them so will not change.'*
- *I think a lot of it is common sense.*
- *I think I'd have already had many of the skills etc. anyway. This was emphasised at the interview stages and even before joining.*

A supplementary question asked what probationers thought they might do differently as a result of SPACE inputs. Responses were generally divided between those who named

specific elements of the SPACE training, including the skills focused on (see below), and those who asserted the training had no impact on them so they did not foresee any differences in intended behaviour, largely because they believed they had prior knowledge of the relevant principles and a concomitant skill set.

Different approaches mentioned included:

Active Listening

- *Be more aware and focus on listening more, and the importance of listening.*
- *Listen to what people say and don't judge groups of people before speaking to them.*
- *Maybe listen more, show empathy and use body language.*
- *More aware of actively listening – more likely to do this now.*
- *I will listen actively throughout the course of my duty.*

Approaches to Young People

- *Be more sensitive and understanding towards youths.*
- *I think I may treat young people differently. Instead of approaching the people thinking that every teenager is the same, I will approach them fairly instead of unfairly*.

Diversity

- *Consider the values and opinions of other people and try to see things from their point of view.*
- *Consideration of feelings and emotions of both victims and offenders as well as the policies and protocols which are required by law.*
- *I would not change my way of dealing with people. However I am more aware and will keep them in the forefront of my policing career.*

Communication

- *I would like to think that SPACE may have improved my communication.*
- *Listen and communicate in a different manner.*
- *Proactively communicate.*
- *Reassure more often, use body language.*

Empathy

- *Show more empathy and understanding when dealing with members of the public.*
- *Take more time to evaluate issues with regards to perception of police/empathy/listening.*

General policing

- *Place more emphasis on the basics of legitimate policing and empathise where possible.*
- *Try to maintain procedural justice in the face of my operational colleagues telling me otherwise.*

Some of the reasons given for not foreseeing any differences in behaviour included:

- *(Not a great deal.) I think in a modern context it is nigh on impossible to get into the police without being empathetic.*
- *(Not a lot.) Skills covered in the SPACE sessions are skills I hope I already have.*
- *Nothing really. I don't think there was any great revelation that made me question my training or how I intended to carry out my police duties.*
- *Nothing. Already had knowledge before these sessions.*
- *Nothing. I already had a good knowledge of procedural justice prior to SPACE, as I worked in the field.*
- *Nothing, as I am already aware of how to talk to people.*
- *Nothing. It did not teach me anything I didn't know.*

A few comments were made which suggested that procedural justice training would perhaps benefit some more than others:

- *Me personally, not much. There are others who could benefit if they actively listened.*
- *I think it reinforced what is already expected and instilled in a lot of constables. It may be more benefit for serving complacent officers.*

6.3 Assessment of SPACE Inputs

As part of the evaluation the intervention group was also asked to identify anything that they liked about the SPACE sessions, as well as things they did not like.

Aspects of the SPACE sessions that received a positive mention related to the nature of SPACE materials provided, the overall message delivered, and applying this to engagement with the public.

Positive Aspects

SPACE materials/message

- *SPACE framework model.*
- *SPACE was reinforcing lessons passed on to us by our class coordinators.*
- *Civilian perspective on issues.*
- *Interesting to hear the academic arguments regarding policing.*
- *(The) handouts. The academic and research aspect to Police I had little awareness of…*
- *Some of them had good practical advice.*

Engagement with the Public

- *That it gave us an understanding of how the public feel in relation to policing, and how my attitude can affect future relations with the police.*
- *I feel as if I am more prepared to interact with members of the public now.*

- *Public interaction material, i.e. empathy/listening.*
- *It gave me an in-depth knowledge of empathic (sic) and listening and how to apply it in a working environment.*
- *Expands knowledge regarding communication, what to use and not to in terms of communication.*
- *Highlighted the importance of interpersonal skills which would not normally be covered at the college.*
- *I could learn about how I will have an impact on the community.*
- *The importance placed on empathy, fairness and respect.*

Negative Aspects

It has to be acknowledged that there was a high level of negativity expressed about the SPACE inputs, which primarily related to issues of timetabling, timing, and delivery of inputs.

Timetabling

In spite of the fact that there were only nine 45-minute sessions scheduled over the 12 weeks of their training, many probationers commented that there were too many SPACE sessions:

- *Too much course time taken up telling us something that we already knew before the job. In my interview for Police Scotland I researched the topic covered to prepare.*
- *Took away from our actual study (time).*
- *Too long sessions. Too many in timetable (studying coursework preferred).*
- *That this took away from valuable study time.*
- *SPACE encroached on valuable teaching time.*
- *Waste of time that could have been spent learning our actual curriculum. No other probationers have wasted 10 hours of a course that is already too short!*
- *I felt it was time consuming and took away from crucial study time.*
- *I wonder if the time could be used more wisely as there is already a lot of pressure on us at college.*
- *It took up time during our course which could be spent doing more important things, as it is only 12 weeks long (used to be 18).*

Timing

Timing was also an issue that appears to have had an adverse impact on overall evaluation of the sessions. Unfortunately, this was not something the project team had any control over and the SPC were also constrained to some extent by having to change the timetable to forefront officer safety training during the first three weeks of training in order to ensure officers were fully prepared for operational duties over the Christmas and New Year period. Clearly this had to take precedence, but it did mean that some of the SPACE sessions took place towards the end of the 12-week training programme when officers were preparing for exams:

- *Too many sessions especially before exams when time would be better spent studying.*

- *The sessions were lengthy which made it hard to concentrate knowing we were preparing for final exams.*
- *Time could have been used more sensibly, i.e. preparing for exams.*
- *Detracting from essential study time before major exams.*
- *It gave us less time to do practicals before our exam.*
- *It gave use less time in class to study and do practicals.*
- *It took away too much time from the course. Time I felt could have been used preparing for the exam.*
- *I did not get a chance to fully appreciate the project as the inputs were given at a time where we had too much other things to study.*
- *The final input on active listening was very informative, but due to its timing in the course timetable many people were not listening as we had big exams to study for only 2 days later.*

(On a more 'positive' note one probationer commented that they liked the sessions because they could use the time to revise for their exams!)

Content and Delivery of Materials

Whilst some probationers commented positively on these aspects of the Project, others were less enthusiastic and offered (largely) constructive criticism about the content and delivery of materials.

Content

- *Many of the inputs, to me, were teaching things I know or believed about policing.*
- *More activities/participation for audience.*
- *Not enough active discussion to keep us engaged.*
- *Repetition of what we covered in class in some but not all aspects.*
- *I feel that interaction or a bit of fun would have been useful to achieve the same aim.*
- *The walls of text in the hand-outs. Too closely related to university style structure and not the structure/style of notes used at SPC.*

Delivery

- *I felt more interaction was required.*
- *I felt the sessions were quite drawn out and could have been more interactive with audience.*
- *Did not seem to relate to the reality of the job. Very much a focus on how it 'should be done' rather than how some circumstances dictate it be done*.

Two other issues raised related to the procedural justice approach itself and how much of it appears to be 'common sense', and perhaps related to this, a few probationers commented that they perceived the sessions as patronising.

'Common sense'

- *I think the subject matter is just common policing sense and appears to be academia for the sake of academia. Procedural justice appears to be an overthinking of common sense, which most officers possess by virtue anyway.*
- *A lot of the inputs could be put down to common sense.*

- *The principle of the study is very simple and common sense so I fail to see the need for the study and the number of inputs we received.*
- *I felt it was mostly common sense... I found it quite patronising at times.*

'Patronising'

- *I found it patronising. I think that police officers should already have the skills that are covered in SPACE.*
- *Seemed a bit patronising.*
- *We have an intense program and I felt this was a distraction. I also felt incredibly patronised.*

6.4 Summary of Key Findings from Training Evaluation

Looking at the evaluation overall, it is clear that opinions were divided between those who attributed some value to the SPACE sessions and those who perceived them as a distraction from their general police training and therefore developed generally negative perceptions of it. As indicated previously many of the criticisms were made in a constructive manner and the project team shared some of the concerns expressed about timetabling, timing and delivery. However, the implementation of the project had to be accommodated within an existing framework, which itself was subject to change, and this was never going to be an easy and straightforward task.

Section 7: Discussion and Conclusions

This section draws together the findings presented throughout this report to highlight some of the key issues raised by the research and to offer some critical reflection on these, their implications for police training in Scotland and further afield, and where critical questions remain around procedural justice training. In particular it discusses the main results of the trial, implications for the inclusion of procedural justice as a core aspect of police training, and makes some suggestions about developing further research in this area.

7.1 Trial Results

From the evidence presented in sections two to six it is clear that the results of the trial were mixed, as further discussed below. The impact of the additional training for the intervention group is demonstrable for some aspects, whereas for other aspects no differences were evident between the groups.

Main survey results

The main survey data indicated differences in attitudes before and after the training period for both the control and intervention groups, although most were not statistically-significant. As mentioned previously the intervention group appeared to start from a more favourable position than the control group in terms of their attitudinal responses to the main survey, but the results of the follow-up survey indicated what could be defined as a 'levelling out' of attitudinal responses between the two groups. Importantly, the preliminary and final survey results did not reveal any serious issues relating to probationers' attitudes, perceptions and beliefs in respect of generally engaging positively with the public: the mean scores were relatively favourable over the range of questions asked, which suggests there were no underlying attitudinal issues. As an aside, this suggests current recruitment methods are, in the most part, likely to be fit for purpose and recruiting individuals into police training who are likely to already have a reasonable capacity to enact the principles of procedural justice, which as mentioned previously are partly reflected in the police constable's oath and Police Scotland's guiding principles.

As many changes in attitudes and beliefs were recorded over the course of the training, this suggests there is scope for police training – both the general standard training programme and more specific focused training – to have an impact in key areas. It should be noted, however, that the changes themselves, whether positive or negative, were in most cases quite small. There are many factors that may have contributed to this, for example it may be partly related to the relatively small sample involved in the research; the challenges of implementing additional procedural justice training into an already busy college teaching timetable; the limited time allotted to deliver a lower number of inputs than would have been ideal; the continually changing and challenging training environment, and the ensuing reactivity required by both the College and Project Team; and the deployment of some intervention group probationers over the Christmas period. Whilst this latter aspect was not

statistically significant in the analyses, it is likely that the constellation of factors above may have impacted on the ability of the intervention to produce or evidence significant change.

In terms of the results that were statistically-significant, there were attitudinal changes evidenced that were for the most part in line with what could be considered positive results in terms of a procedural justice framework, however some less positive outcomes were also noted. They key positive results were recorded for 'communication' measures which showed that the intervention group who received the additional procedural justice training evidenced a statistically-significant improvement in their knowledge and understanding of how to communicate effectively with the public, as well as their confidence to do so. These finding are very positive from a procedural justice perspective, especially given the centrality of effective communication to this framework (see, for example, Hough, 2013; Wheller, Quinton, Fildes and Mills, 2013) whereby most aspects of this are mediated by effective communication.

The two statistically-significant 'negative' results were recorded for 'respect' measures, one occurring in both control and intervention groups and the second in the intervention group only. As this change was noted for one measure in both control and intervention groups, this suggests that the standard training may also have an impact on probationers' attitudes towards the public in terms of 'respect'. Given the additional change evidenced by the intervention group, it is possible the additional procedural justice training may also have contributed to this change in 'respect' for that group. This was a very unexpected result and this area in particular needs more focussed research to identify what factors influence probationers' respect towards members of the public, what underlies their attitudes and any subsequent attitudinal change, what training interventions might help improve attitudes or respect and the subsequent communication of that attitude during police-citizen encounters, and whether probationer attitudes of respect (or lack of) differ for particular types or groups of citizens.

Explaining these results is not straightforward. There are many variables that could potentially have an impact on probationers' attitudes and beliefs over the course of their training, not all of which can be controlled for. Even where all aspects of training were in theory the same, there are issues associated with group dynamics that are distinct for each cohort and cannot be accounted for in subsequent statistical analysis, and certainly our own observations and interactions, including focus groups, with the control and intervention groups suggested differences between the two in terms of their attitudes to the core training, trainers, and also how they perceived and engaged with the project team as 'outsiders'. Similarly, although all working to a standard training programme, variations in the delivery of training are unavoidable given the different individuals and groups involved in probationer training, who come from a range of policing and non-policing backgrounds and experience. For example, our observations indicated a wide range of interaction

between probationers and training staff where, for example, stereotypes were challenged to a greater or lesser extent, and certain policing approaches were encouraged over others.

On a positive note the communication results are very encouraging: Interacting with the public successfully – including showing respect, being impartial, giving them a voice and encouraging trust, is largely facilitated by positive communication. It is clear from the survey results that although the intervention group's mean scores were higher than the control group for the preliminary survey for many of the communication measures (in other words they started from a more favourable position), their mean scores also improved to a greater extent than the control group scores for communication measures, and to an extent that was statistically significant. This is a very positive outcome and suggests the additional procedural justice training had a significant positive impact on probationers' attitudes with respect to communication with the public. It is of course the case that an empirically-evident change in probationers' attitudes towards communication is not a guarantee of behavioural intentions or outcomes, as suggested by some of the other results, however it is hoped that any such positive change will have an impact on probationers' conduct in the future.

Additional Scenarios

The results from the additional scenarios were also mixed. The results showed no statistically-significant differences between the groups and there was no clear indication that the mean scores recorded for the statements asked about different policing scenarios were generally more favourable for either the control group or the intervention group.

However, some inferences can be drawn from the results in terms of where priority can be seen to be given. For example, in the traffic stop scenario the highest priority was given by both groups to explaining procedures, making sure procedures were understood, reducing opportunities for complaints and preventing the escalation of potentially volatile situations. In contrast, less priority in both control and intervention groups was given to acknowledging the driver's feelings and letting the driver tell their side of the story, both of which are important from a procedural justice perspective. This may be indicative of a preference for procedure-based policing, which is certainly important in many respects, rather than procedurally-just policing, which evidence suggests is equally as important on many levels (see for example Murphy, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2012).

In terms of interacting with young people there appeared to be more recognition of the significance of using a procedurally-just approach, in particular positive communication to engage them in dialogue, which is a promising result. Interestingly, the control group's mean scores were marginally better (from a procedural justice perspective) than the intervention group, but in terms of the qualitative comments made, some were less understanding and unbiased than others when it came to dealing with the young people

proactively and not just seeing them as 'a problem', which can have the effect of alienating young people (Hough, 2013).

When dealing with members of the public on a more day-to-day basis, again the results were mixed. Generally speaking, however, the control group appeared to exhibit more 'procedurally-just' attitudes than the intervention group, although in most cases differences were only marginal and no results were significant. However, from the qualitative comments, it is clear that both groups exhibited positive attitudes towards dealing with members of the public through good communication, exhibiting respect, being courteous and taking people's needs into account. Similarly, both groups saw the importance of acknowledging victims' feelings and concerns, although they were not inclined to agree that: 'it's important to apologise to victims of crime for what had happened to them'. Qualitative comments suggested that this is not seen as a police role (to apologise), that the police had no reason to apologise if they had done nothing wrong, and that it could be patronising to apologise to victims. Given the procedural justice focus of SPACE training, these statements and the mean scores recorded were somewhat disconcerting and suggest that more needs to be done in terms of understanding the value of procedurally-just policing, particularly when it comes to interacting with victims of crime (see Stephens and Sinden, 2000). Research suggests that something as simple as empathising with members of the public and communicating that empathy, where appropriate, by for example apologising for what has happened ('I'm sorry this has happened to you') can help to alleviate the distress experienced by victims of crime (Elliot, Thomas and Ogloff, 2011). It may be that probationers were operating with a narrow view of what it means to apologise to members of the public, seeing this not as expressing sorrow or empathy for their plight, but as taking responsibility for the actions that caused sorrow or plight.

Observations

The dichotomy between procedure-based and procedurally-just policing mentioned above in relation to the additional policing scenarios was also apparent in the role-play/practical sessions observed as part of the project evaluation. Although there was overlap between the criteria used by the police trainers in their formal assessment of the role-play practical sessions and the SPACE observers in their procedural-justice focused assessment (for example, effective communication/verbal communication; personal effectiveness/professional intentions and motives; respect for diversity/cultural awareness), generally speaking there was a tendency nonetheless for police trainers to focus primarily on police procedures – the 'what' of policing – and to pay less attention to the 'how' and 'why' of policing. This meant that SPACE observers and the police trainers sometimes came to very different conclusions on probationers' performance:

> As I was observing the groups, I felt that my interpretation of the scenario and the approach by the officers was extremely subjective. In one particular scenario ('not wearing a seatbelt'), I

felt that the officers were incredibly aggressive and rude, however at the end of it the trainer said they did really well! That made me realise that the officers and myself might be on completely different pages! *(Observer 1, Male)*

The scenarios were very much geared towards dealing with offences/offenders apart from the sudden death, there was no straight dealing with victims and helping them (to) report an incident really. Also the feedback from the trainers was always about notebooks - they were encouraged to bring these out as soon as possible and write in them extensively, and about procedures. Feedback was never given on attitude, empathy or listening skills. I just wanted to raise that as the training does not look as though it encourages or is geared for 'being nice' even once you have had your input. *(Observer 2, Female)*

There was a lack of discussion during feedback sessions about procedural justice issues. *(Observer 3, Male)*

At times it was clear that feedback could be at odds with using a procedural justice approach, especially in particular situations such as delivering a death notice:

Relatively neutral, not empathetic; no apology. Probationers were encouraged to be un-empathetic. *(Observer 1, Male)*

Improved as scenario went on but did not appear confident in their sympathy. I would not have felt reassured or comforted if I had bad news broken to me in this way. Probationers praised for doing everything 'right'. *(Observer 2, Female)*

No chit chat; minimal interaction. Score 1 (although probationer was commended for this). *(Observer 1, Male)*

Given DCs (developing competence – i.e. fail) because of knowledge, not conduct – communicated by trainer. SPACE scores 2 and 3 *(Observer 5, Female).*

However, this was not always the case:

Discussion about why officers did not handcuff the man. Trainer focuses on telling officers it is their judgement call – if the man is pleasant enough then they don't necessarily need to arrest. The words 'fairness', 'integrity' and respect' are mentioned by the trainer. The issue of generating rapport is mentioned – the man would be less likely to 'kick off' if you generate rapport – 'it goes a long way in this job'. This session was the one where I saw the biggest emphasis on procedural justice within the feedback session. *(Observer 3, Male)*

Both officers had very good communication skills, both verbal and non-verbal. This pair of officers also displayed strong teamwork both using skills to elicit information and interact with the subject. Both officers were in control of the situation from the beginning by engaging with the subject in a polite, courteous and professional manner from the beginning. *(Observer 4, Male)*

To be fair to the police trainers, it should be acknowledged that their main task is to ensure probationers are ready to take up police duties as soon as they pass out of the college, which perhaps necessitates more of a focus on procedures, including correct use of the police notebook, which was commented on in most sessions by police trainers and by most SPACE observers:

> Both officers' attention was fixed on their notebooks, noting personal details of the subjects before eliciting the information why they were called to the location. *(Observer 4, Male)*

> Officer 1 produced notebook before speaking to subject. *(Observer 4, Male)*

> Trainer: 'If you'd made up your notebooks you would have got ECs'. More procedure focussed than file X – very rule bound (Observer 5, Female)

Focus Groups

As highlighted in Section 5 a variety of insights came out of the focus groups with members of both control and intervention groups, some related specifically to the procedural justice approach of the SPACE Project, whilst others related more generally to the police training course probationers were undergoing. It is interesting to note that some probationers appeared to place greater value on the practical aspects of the training as opposed to the 'class-room' based elements, a key reason for which appeared to be what one of the focus group facilitators referred to as a 'total fear' of being attacked. This could translate into a preference for physical training over other forms of training, including aspects that are more directly related to positive interaction with the public, and underlying issues such as respect for diversity. However, as noted by another facilitator, officers nonetheless highlighted the need for open dialogue and positive engagement with the public and recognised the importance of drawing on key principles reflected in both the procedural justice approach and Police Scotland's guiding values.

Among the intervention group, one important insight to emerge was the way in which the additional inputs on procedural justice would have been more valued by the probationers if they had been assessed more formally. This was alluded to earlier in the report, when it was mentioned that no formal knowledge test was applied in respect of the procedural justice inputs, as this was seen as possibly too much of an imposition. However, with hindsight it could be argued that this resulted in the SPACE inputs not being seen as important as the rest of the training course, where knowledge checks are administered regularly. Whilst our contention that police officers are being tested on their knowledge of and adherence to procedural justice principles throughout their career remains valid, it is also the case that they are not subject to formal assessment on these principles in terms of performance indicators. It could therefore be argued that for procedural justice principles to be afforded greater significance amongst probationers/officers they would need to become an assessed

part of the probationary training curriculum, and for this significance to continue to be acknowledged, they would also need to be a key indicator in terms of performance criteria.

Evaluation

As mentioned above opinions were divided within the intervention group between those who attributed some value to the SPACE sessions and those who perceived them as a distraction from their general police training, and therefore developed generally negative perceptions of it. Given the focus of the SPACE Project the latter is a negative outcome that requires further discussion.

As mentioned in Section 6 the project team shared some of the concerns expressed about timetabling, timing and delivery, however, the total time able to be allocated to the SPACE sessions was minimal in many respects and therefore the negativity expressed seems to be somewhat disproportionate. Likewise, some of the comments made by some probationers were not articulated in a particularly professional and respectful manner, which again given the nature and focus of the SPACE project was disappointing. In a similar vein some probationers appeared to take offence at being asked to spend a relatively small amount of their training programme looking at issues that they felt they already had sufficient knowledge of and this was reflected in some quite acerbic comments that raise issues about respectful interaction and professionalism. It is also concerning that some probationers believed the principles of procedural justice are simply 'common sense', and that they felt equipped to interact in this way already. This suggests some probationers may have been closed to the messages involved in the additional procedural justice training and may not have engaged fully. It is likely that if individuals feel they have nothing to learn and are not in need of additional input they are unlikely to engage fully, and therefore unlikely to have their perceptions, beliefs and attitudes challenged.

Comments made about the project distracting from exams were interesting: this suggests a largely assessment-driven approach, whereby if something is not counted or subject to assessment, it is not valued. Whilst this manifests itself at the level of the individual, it could also be symptomatic of organisational and/or professional culture. This was something that was mentioned by probationers in the focus groups, who expressed the opinion that if the procedural justice inputs had been assessed, much more attention would have been paid in the sessions. It could also be the case that although efforts were made to replicate the approach used in the SPC Training Manuals, so that the SPACE inputs did not appear to be 'bolted-on', the very fact that they were delivered by academics, who were seen as 'civilians' and 'outsiders', also had an adverse impact on the way in which the procedural justice message was perceived. In this respect it may be preferable for this approach to be built into core police training and delivered by police trainers, or at the very least have the written inputs incorporated into the police training manuals in identical formats.

7.2 Recommendations for Further Research

Given the results presented above we would suggest there is scope to develop research in this area to expand both academic and practical knowledge on procedurally-just policing and associated police training (for both new and serving officers). This could include, but is not limited to:

- Further research on probationer training involving a larger sample of probationers, a larger number of cohorts, and in circumstances where the conditions of training can be held constant in a more robust way: this would allow for greater exploration of relationships and factors that influence the extent to which procedural justice principles can be delivered.
- Research exploring how the principles of procedural justice can be successfully incorporated into the multiple pathways into policing in Scotland that are likely to result from the 'Train to Recruit' project currently underway, exploring how, regardless of which route individuals follow into policing, a sound and effective grounding in procedural justice can be acquired.
- Research into procedural justice in relation to specific groups of the public in terms of particular types of offender or victim groups, to establish where procedural justice may be more or less easily delivered by officers, what challenges might occur at the professional and/or personal level, and where additional training and/or supervision may be required.
- Research into specific aspects of procedural justice, for example communication, or the development and maintenance of respect, with a focus on understanding one or some of the components in more detail and how this might best be delivered to officers.
- Research into procedural justice training in an international comparative context, taking into account the different aspects of policing delivery in different cultural and jurisdictional contexts, examining whether different training approaches are more or less suited for different contexts.
- Research into how probationers and police officers at all levels form ideas around the key principles of procedural justice, what might best alter these ideas, and which are the best methods to do so given the context of delivery, resource constraints, and policing needs.
- Research into how procedural justice is or is not compatible with the dominant hierarchical police culture that is widely evidenced in literature and how such culture might be challenged to allow for greater incorporation of the principles of procedural justice, not just in encounters with citizens, but internally within police organisational culture and practice.

- There is also capacity to research the emotional burden on police officers when delivering a procedurally-just form of policing by relating this to the emotional labour often researched with other professional and public-facing groups.

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Appendix 1: Main Survey Questionnaire

	To what extent do you agree with the following statements?	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1	I know how to talk with people	o	o	o	o
2	Listening and talking to people is a good way to take charge of situations	o	o	o	o
3	It's important to give everyone a good reason why we're stopping them, even if there is no need	o	o	o	o
4	I know how to resolve conflict between people	o	o	o	o
5	People should be treated with respect, regardless of their attitude	o	o	o	o
6	Police officers have enough trust in the public for them to work together effectively	o	o	o	o
7	I have good communication skills	o	o	o	o
8	Members of the public will never trust the police enough to work together effectively	o	o	o	o
9	Police officers shouldn't take time to listen to members of the public complain about their problems	o	o	o	o
10	I know how to make someone comfortable	o	o	o	o
11	In certain areas of towns/cities, it is more useful for an officer to be aggressive than to be courteous	o	o	o	o
12	If people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain	o	o	o	o
13	I feel confident when using my communication skills	o	o	o	o
14	When dealing with a member of the public's concerns, police officers need to explain what will happen next, when they are finished at the scene	o	o	o	o
15	It's important that we remind people that they have rights and that we appear to follow them	o	o	o	o
16	I am good at reading other people's emotions	o	o	o	o
17	Letting people talk back only encourages them to get angrier	o	o	o	o
18	Officers have reason to be distrustful of many members of the public	o	o	o	o
19	I know how to show empathy or compassion	o	o	o	o
20	Officers should at all times treat people they encounter with dignity and respect	o	o	o	o
21	It's very important that police officers appear neutral in the application of legal rules	o	o	o	o
22	I know how to use nonverbal cues to communicate my feelings to others	o	o	o	o
23	Police officers need to show a genuine interest in what people have to say, even if it is not going to change anything	o	o	o	o
24	Officers should treat the public as if they can be trusted to do the right thing	o	o	o	o

(Adapted from Skogan, 2013; and Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2013)